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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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PRE-RESTORATION POETRY IN DRYDEN'S MISCELLANY

Few attempts have been made to study thoroughly the reading habits of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; and because today we usually read only the leading neo-classicists of the period, we frequently assume that they contributed most of the poetic reading matter. Many Elizabethan and early seventeenth-century poems and ballads did not, however, die the sudden death that the neo-classic critics planned for them, but lived on to help while away the idle hours of readers until at least 1727, when the final edition of Dryden's Miscellany appeared. Professor Raymond D. Havens has noted that, whereas from the publication of the first volume in 1684 until the appearance of the sixth in 1709 this anthology was almost completely neo-classic, the collected edition of 1716 introduced significant changes in contents, particularly in the inclusion of pre-Restoration poems and ballads. He has therefore asked "Why, after three decades of popularity as an anthology of late seventeenth and very early eighteenth-century poetry, the scope of the collection was suddenly enlarged."¹ The answer lies, I believe, in the late seventeenth-century drolleries, miscellanies, and commonplace books; and these works, in turn, offer the best means of determining reading tastes, for the first two were designed to satisfy the public and the last represents the actual reading of individuals.

During the Commonwealth period many Elizabethan and Jacobean songs passed on to popular tradition, while the songs from the Elizabethan plays were usually remembered apart from their original settings. The result was that these lyrics, together with many

¹ R. D. Havens, "Changing Taste in the Eighteenth Century," *PMLA*, XLIV (1929), 508.

ballads, became common property and remained popular among the general mass of readers. Authors, dates, and sources were forgotten, but the poems survived in the song books and miscellanies for popular consumption. Many mid-seventeenth-century song books, such as John Playford's *Select Musical Ayres and Dialogues* (1653) and *Catch that Catch Can: or the Musical Companion* (1667), contain, for example, a number of Shakespeare's poems, Breton's "In the merry month of May," and Campion's "Though I am young and cannot tell." In consequence, these poems and many like them, such as Wither's "Shall I wasting in despair" and Marlowe's "Come live with me and be my love," became popular songs and reappeared frequently in the later miscellanies. True, the collectors were selective, choosing usually the more suggestively sensual pieces, but in almost all those chosen, Elizabethan and Jacobean lyricism is evident. Often garbled and usually without the authors' names, the lyrics were later reprinted along with the products of the neo-classic school; for the late seventeenth century was not completely given over to the newer doctrines and tastes, but constituted in many respects a period of literary revolt and consequent anarchy, an anarchy that is revealed in the contents of the miscellanies. Indeed, most of the compilers and the average reader probably failed to detect any great distinction between the earlier and the current poems. John Cotgrave, editor of *Wit's Interpreter*, included in his miscellany many neo-classic pieces, some early seventeenth-century poems (such as Carew's "He that loves a rosy cheek"), and many Elizabethan products (such as songs by Fletcher, Jonson, and Raleigh); yet, in the preface to the 1671 edition he wrote: "If there be any copies transcribed that are old, it was not the intention, but rather the misfortune of the *Insertor*; for, upon the least intimation whilst I was in Town to attend the Press, I crossed out whatsoever I could hear had been formerly published." On the other hand, the editor of *The Holborn-Drollery* (1673) recognized fully the presence of pre-Restoration poems in the drolleries; "two or three *Prologues*, and as many *Epilogues*, with some few *Stanza's* Venerable for their Antiquity," he wrote in the preface, "are their Ingredients."

Late seventeenth-century commonplace books indicate that the current miscellanies were the most popular poetic reading matter, and these miscellanies, in turn, reveal the extensive popular appeal the earlier poems still retained. The drolleries—seventeenth-century collections of light, often frivolous, verse—were derived directly

from the songs in Elizabethan plays and were first published surreptitiously to permit the Royalists to keep alive the memory of merry England. As they developed into more reputable works in the late Commonwealth period, they began to include the newer neo-classic pieces, but were seldom unadorned with the earlier products. *The Choyce Drollery* of 1656 contains, along with some pieces by Fletcher and Carew, Drayton's "Dowsabell." *Merry Drollery*, which appeared in 1661, 1670, and 1691, includes poems by Thomas Heywood, Shirley, Fletcher, Bacon, Jonson, Middleton, and Corbet; and in the 1670 edition Breton's "In the merry month of May," which had by now become a popular song, was added. *The Westminster Drollery* of 1671, 1672, and 1674, likewise makes inharmonious bedfellows of poems by Dryden, Shadwell, Etherege, D'Avenant, and Wycherley on the one hand, and by Thomas Lodge, Francis Davison, Raleigh, Lyly, Corbet, and Carew on the other. I mention these three collections in particular because their popularity, as indicated by the number of editions and by the commonplace books, seems to have been very great; but other miscellanies just as clearly show the survival of a taste for the older poetry. The 1669 edition of *The New Academy of Complements* and the two editions of 1684, for instance, drew heavily upon the songs from Shakespeare's plays; and *Wit Restor'd* (1658) and *Wit and Drollery* (1661, 1682)—to name only a few—likewise included earlier lyrics and ballads.

At least, then, until the end of the seventeenth century the poetic anthologies were a heterogeneous mixture of current products—some ribald, some honest attempts at poetry in a new vein—and of older poems. The age, just as much as the miscellanies, was in a state of transition, and there were still many readers who had an affection for pre-Restoration poetry. Neo-classicism remained an esoteric, aristocratic aesthetics that had not yet won over the great mass of readers. Meanwhile, with the appearance of Dryden's *Miscellany*, another type of anthology arose, devoted almost exclusively to current poems—epilogues and prologues, satires, translations, and sophisticated, polished songs.² Until 1684, when the first volume of the laureate's *Miscellany* appeared, most anthologies were purely of a popular nature and sported such titles as *Cupid's Posies*

² It should be pointed out, however, that the *Miscellany* had its origins in such earlier collections as *The Covent Garden Drollery* (1672), which is also made up largely of epilogues, prologues, and songs, but which lacks the serious literary purpose of the collections which follow Dryden's.

and *The Shepherds Garland of Love, Loyalty, and Delight*. But thereafter the majority of the collections took a more serious and literary turn, and the very next year saw the appearance of works that aped not only the nature of the contents but even the title of Dryden's anthology: *Miscellany Poems and Translations by Oxford Hands*; *Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems by Several Hands*; Tate's *Poems by Several Hands*; A. Stephen's *Miscellany Poems and Translations*; and Mrs. Behn's *Miscellany*. The literateurs were usurping what had formerly been almost entirely a popular type of publication.

On the basis of this brief survey of the Restoration anthologies, we can perhaps arrive at a satisfactory answer to Professor Havens's question. Dryden's *Miscellany* was undoubtedly the most popular of the early eighteenth-century anthologies, but perhaps the presence of the poet's name on the title-page contributed much to this. At any rate, this compilation was different from those that had preceded and, in view of the contents of the earlier ones, does not seem to have represented popular tastes. From the printing of the first volume in 1684 until the printing of the fourth in 1694, Dryden, nominally at least, held the editorship of the *Miscellany*, and the contents therefore conformed with the ideas of the select, fashionable, sophisticated literary group of which he was the leader. After the poet's death, Tonson published two additional volumes, 1704 and 1709, and re-edited volumes one to four, 1702-1708; but as all these were volumes added to the same series or new editions of former volumes, he may have felt bound to consistency in selection. In 1716, however, he published all six volumes collectively for the first time and, because he was beginning afresh, was able to alter the editorial policy. Now, Tonson was a shrewd business man above all else and did not use his publishing firm to champion literary causes or mould literary tastes. No longer under Dryden's restraint and, although he continued to use Dryden's name on the title-page, no longer able to attract strongly the fashionable groups through the use of it sixteen years after the editor's death, he seems to have planned, therefore, to make the contents more popular and thereby widen their appeal. The sources to which a popular anthologist would turn in 1716 to attract a wide audience provide an interesting comment on early eighteenth-century reading tastes. The editor did not make much use of additional contemporary poems, but employed instead earlier products. In other words, he appears to

have recognized the survival of a taste for earlier poems and ballads and consequently made the collection more like the earlier popular miscellanies.³

The extensive, hitherto unnoticed use that Tonson made in 1716 of at least four seventeenth-century drolleries, *Wit and Drollery*, *The Garland of Good-Will*, *The Loyal Garland*, and *Parnassus Biceps*, indicates clearly how consciously he was searching for a definite sort of additional material, to what extent he was fashioning the 1716 edition on the seventeenth-century drolleries, how popular much of the earlier literature must still have been,⁴ and how incomplete a judgment it is to think of the early eighteenth century as completely neo-classic and anti-lyrical. It is apparent that the editor of the Miscellany thumbed through each of the earlier collections, choosing what he thought most likely to please, for in each case the additional poems in the Miscellany appear in the same order as in the drolleries. The editor, then, was induced to turn to these sources, not because of his interest in specific poems, but because of his interest in the popular drolleries and because of his recognition of their continued appeal. It therefore becomes obvious why Tonson selected certain pre-Restoration poems and did not include others; his source was limited largely to the drolleries, and he therefore used what they provided rather than what might occasionally have been more judicious selections from pre-Restoration poets.

The 1682 edition of *Wit and Drollery* is typical of the more widely-read miscellanies of the second half of the century and, like *The Westminster Drollery* or *The Merry Drollery*, contains both

³ At least one poem typical of the contents of the drolleries had, however, slipped into the Miscellany even before the 1716 edition. In the fourth volume (1694, etc.) was printed, wrongly ascribed to Sidney Godolphin, A. W.'s "It chanc'd of late a shepherd swain," which first appeared in Francis Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*; the version in Dryden's Miscellany is definitely allied with the version published in an earlier drollery, *Le Prince d'Amour* (1660), rather than with the original.

⁴ Tonson may have planned to include poems from the earlier drolleries in the first edition of the sixth volume (1709), for in that volume there is a gap between pp. 632 and 723. In the preface to the sixth volume, Tonson wrote, possibly with reference to this omission: "I have been forced to omit several of the Copies sent, . . . otherways this Volume would have swell'd beyond the Size of any of the former ones. I shall reserve those for another Volume. . . ." This gap was later filled in the 1716 edition, the first appearance of the Miscellany after the 1709 volume, largely by ballads and "Ancient Songs."

neo-classic pieces and earlier poems and ballads. The word-for-word identity of the nineteen poems that appear both in *Wit and Drollery* and in the third and fourth volumes of the 1716 Miscellany, even in the matter of italics and frequently in that of unusual spellings, and their immediately following each other in the Miscellany in the same order as they appear in *Wit and Drollery* indicate clearly that the latter was the source.⁵

With one exception, the six pieces borrowed for the third volume of the Miscellany are street-songs and authentic ballads: (1) "A Description of the Tombs in Westminster-Abby," (2) "A Northern Ballad" [i. e., "Johnny Armstrong"], (3) "Little Musgrave and the Lady Bernard," (4) "The Miller and the King's Daughters," and (5) "The West Country Batchelor's Complaint." Of the remaining poems (6) "Hunting the Hare," Professor Havens writes: "The alliteration, fantastic richness, and the singing voice of the Elizabethans are certainly here."⁶ Tonson's selecting these and his not using the earlier miscellany for any of its more neo-classic poems, such as one "In Praise of Eating," are evidence that he clearly knew what would please the public and was seeking to expand the anthology by the inclusion of such poems. J. W. Hales, then, was placing the emphasis on the wrong factor when he believed the editor of the 1716 Miscellany to be "the first collector of poems who conceded to popular ballads their due place,—who admitted them into the society of other poems—poems by the most Eminent Hands."⁷ The editor was not dignifying the ballads; he was democratizing a hitherto esoteric anthology by their inclusion, just as they had provided popular appeal in the earlier drollery. Moreover, the appearance of these poems was not limited to *Wit and*

⁵ The dependence of one miscellany upon another was frequent; for example, in the 1682 *Wit and Drollery* itself use was made of the collections edited by Sir John Mennis, and the 1684 *Academy of Complements* drew from *The Windsor Drollery*. More important for our purposes, Professor Cyrus L. Day has pointed out that thirty-eight of the poems in the 1719-20 edition of *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, which was published by Tonson, were taken from the 1684 *Antidote Against Melancholy*, and that much of the remainder was derived from such earlier drolleries and song books as *Sportive Wit* (1656) and *Choyce Ayres and Songs* (1684) ("*Pills to Purge Melancholy*," *RES.*, VIII, 1932, pp. 181-2).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 518.

⁷ *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (London, 1868), I, viii-ix.

Drollery, and they seem to have been favorites throughout the entire last half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. In different versions, the second, third, fourth, and fifth poems had been printed in *Wit Restor'd* (1658); and the sixth had already appeared in uncorrupted form as "Hunting of the Gods" in *Westminster Drollery* (1672).⁸

The fourth volume of the Miscellany likewise draws extensively from *Wit and Drollery* for some of its additional poems. Here again the versions are identical, and the poems appear in the same order in each anthology, although they do not immediately succeed each other in *Wit and Drollery*. These borrowed poems are also ballads, street-songs, and lighter, occasionally ribald lyrics: (1) "Good Advice," (2) "The Lancashire Song," (3) "The Leather Bottel," (4) "The Maiden's Longing," (5) "The Hobgoblin," (6) "Sir Eglamore," (7) "The Gelding of the Devil," (8) "The Old Courtier," (9) "Narcissus," (10) "The Jovial Tinker," (11) "I sigh'd and I writ," (12) "Experience," and (13) "A Rant against Cupid." These, too, had been very popular throughout the late seventeenth century: the third appeared in *Parnassus Biceps*; the fourth, in *Merry Drollery*, *Windsor Drollery*, and *New Academy of Complements* (1669, 1684); the fifth, in *Academy of Complements* (1669); the sixth, in *Merry Drollery*, *Antidote Against Melancholy* (1661), *New Academy of Complements* (1684), and Playford's *Musical Companion* (1687); the seventh, in *Merry Drollery*, *Antidote Against Melancholy*, and *Wit and Mirth* (1684); the eighth, in *Le Prince d'Amour* (1660); and the tenth, in *Merry Drollery*.

For some of the poems added to the fifth volume, the editor turned to *The Garland of Good-Will*,⁹ which was probably collected and partly written by Thomas Deloney, and selected (1) "A Song of the Banishment of the two Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk," (2) "A Pastoral Song" ("Upon a Down where Shepherds keep"),¹⁰ (3) "A Dialogue between Plain Truth and Ignorance," (4) "A Dialogue between Fancy and Desire," (5) "A Farewel to

⁸ The two versions are collated by Hales and Furnivall, *op. cit.*, III, 303.

⁹ Reprinted in *Percy Society Reprints*, vol. 30. The editor, J. H. Dixon, made use of the 1678 and 1709 editions but noted editions of 1631, 1659, 1685, 1688, and 1696. The collector of the Miscellany probably used one of the last three.

¹⁰ (1) and (2) were omitted in the 1727 edition of the Miscellany.

Love." Tonson was obviously not catering to the fashionable neo-classic interest in modernity, for to the title of (1) he added "very Ancient," and to (2), "Ancient." Of these poems it is notable that (4) is by Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, that (5), with many variations, had been set to music and published in 1588 by William Byrd, and that all five give indications of having been written before 1600; yet, there were far more neo-classical poems that could have been chosen from *The Garland*.

The additional poems in the sixth volume of the Miscellany were recruited largely from *The Loyal Garland*, a fifth edition of which appeared in 1686,¹¹ and *Parnassus Biceps*, 1656.¹² Seven of the nine poems selected from the former are titled in the Miscellany "Ancient Songs": (1) "Dear *Dorinda*, weep no more," (2) "Let *Jug* in Smiles be ever seen," (3) "If Wealth a Man cou'd keep alive," (4) "A Silly Shepherd woo'd, but wist not," (5) "Beauty and Love once fell at odds," (6) "Farewel my Mistress, I'll be gone," (7) "No Man Love's fiery Passion can approve." The edition employed for the Miscellany was probably not older than the other drolleries used; but the fact that *The Loyal Garland* was printed in black letter was undoubtedly responsible for the general title of the poems. The other two pieces are: (8) "The Answer" ("No Man Love's fiery Passion can resist") and (9) "A Pastoral Song" ("Did you not once, *Lucinda*, vow"). Of these, (5) appeared in *New Academy of Complements* (1669, 1684) and *Wits Interpreter* (1671); (7), in *New Academy of Complements* (1669, 1670, and 1684), *Merry Drollery*, and *Wit and Drollery*; (8), in *Oxford Drollery* (1671); and (9), in *Wits Interpreter*.

In selecting from *Parnassus Biceps*, the editor of the Miscellany did not print the poems in immediate succession, but interposed pieces by Corbet and Dryden, and "The Waking of Angantyr." However, it is evident that he employed this drollery, for identical versions appear in each collection, even to the details of titles and the curious manner of printing (6) in double columns, and the poems follow in the same order: (1) "Ben Johnson to Burlace," (2) "Upon the King's Return to the City of London," (3)

¹¹ Reprinted in *Percy Society Reprints*, vol. 29. A fourth edition appeared in 1677. All trace of previous editions seems to be lost.

¹² Reprinted by G. Thorn-Drury (London, 1927).

"Venus Lachrymans," (4) "On the Death of Sir Tho. Pelham," (5) "Of Musick," (6) "The Catholick," (7) "A Song" ("When *Orpheus* sweetly did complain"), (8) "Love's Courtship" ("Hark my *Flora*, Love doth call us"). Of these, (3) and (8) are by William Cartwright, and (4), (5), and (7) have been ascribed to William Strode, while (7) had been included in the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's poems among "An Addition of some Excellent Poems, . . . By other Gentlemen." These likewise appear to have been popular drollery material, for (3) appeared in Playford's *Select Muscull Ayres and Dialogues* (1652) and *Wits Interpreter*; (5), in *Wit Restor'd*; (7), in *New Academy of Complements* (1669, 1684); and (8), in *Sportive Wit* (1656).

In addition to these four drolleries, it seems probable that Tonson made use of *New Court-Songs and Poems* (1672), although the evidence is less clear than in the other instances. To the fourth volume of the 1716 Miscellany were added three poems, identical versions of which appear in the earlier collection: "Love's Martyr" ("Alexis, instead of a Tear and a Kiss"), "Song" ("When first my free Heart was inspir'd by Desire"), and "Kisses, with an Addition" ("My Love and I for Kisses play'd"), the first stanza of which is by Strode. However, the order of the poems is different in the two collections, and they appear at widely scattered intervals in the Miscellany. Curiously enough, Tonson had previously printed the second poem in the 1704 edition of the fifth volume, but discarded this version, which is similar to those that had appeared in *Methinks the Poor Town Hath Suffered Too Long* (1673) and *Choyce Ayres* (1676), for the version in *New Court-Songs*. I have not been able to trace to a direct source the few remaining anonymous poems and ballads that were added to the Miscellany in 1716; but there is abundant evidence that most of these were highly popular as late as this date and that Tonson drew them from some of the late seventeenth-century drolleries, which have now become extremely difficult, if not impossible, to secure. Among the poems added to the third volume of the Miscellany, for instance, is "The Ballad of Tom and Will," which can be found in *Sportive Wit* (1656), *Merry Drollery*, and in at least three editions of *New Academy of Complements* (1669, 1670, and 1684). Two poems in the fourth volume, "Song of Hey ho" and "Harry and Moll," appeared in different versions in *Westminster*

Drollery. Of the additional poems in the sixth volume, "The lamentable Song of Lord Wigmore . . . and the fair Maid of Dunsmore" had already appeared in *Crowne-Garland of Goulden Roses* (1659); "The Cavalier's Complaint" and its companion poem "An Eccho to the Cavalier's Complaint," in *Merry Drollery, Antidote Against Melancholy*, and *New Academy of Complements* (1669); and "In Praise of Ale," in *Wit and Drollery, Academy of Complements* (1650), and *Merry Drollery*. Wither's "Shall I wasting in despair," also in the sixth volume, had become a popular song and had appeared as a broadside and in a large number of the miscellanies in different versions. Among the other added poems in this volume are "An old Ballad of Bold Robin Hood" and Heywood's "You little birds that sit and sing."

In his attempt to model the Miscellany partly on the late seventeenth-century anthologies in order to widen its appeal, Tonson turned also to the published works of many earlier poets—Tom Carew, Donne, Jonson, Corbet, Drayton, Suckling, and Marvel—and sandwiched selections from their works between more recent poems, again printing them in approximately the same order as they appeared in the collected works of these poets. With the exception of Drayton, these authors had been favorites in the early miscellanies; and the reputation of Drayton's shorter pieces, largely because of the popularity of his *Heroical Epistles*, had yet suffered little from neo-classic strictures. Indeed, Tonson could easily have learned of the popularity of these poets from the drolleries; to take but one instance, in *Parnassus Biceps* he must have noticed Corbet's "Journey into France," another version of which he printed from the collected edition of Corbet's works. Tonson's realization of the continued popularity of these poets is further evidenced by his edition in 1719 of Donne's collected poetry.

The 1716 edition of Dryden's Miscellany is not the only instance in which Tonson helps reveal the survival of a popular taste for things Elizabethan and Jacobean, for he took over, three years later, the publication of *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, which had remained popular since its first appearance in 1698. The 1719-1720 edition, which Tonson placed under the editorship of Tom D'Urfey, was, unlike the Miscellany, a song book, but it includes some Elizabethan pieces, such as Sir Edward Dyer's "My mind to me a kingdom is," and, in different versions, many songs and ballads that had been added in the 1716 Miscellany, such as "The Ballad of Tom and

Will," "Gilderoy," "Hunting the Hare," "A Maiden's Longing," "The Hobgoblin," "Sir Eglamore," "The Old Courtier," and Wither's "Shall I wasting in despair." Evidently Tonson found the inclusion of earlier poems and ballads profitable, for in 1727 he republished the 1716 Miscellany and retained all but two of the added poems. We cannot, therefore, assume that, because there are few comments on them, the pre-Restoration poems in the Miscellany attracted few readers. Tonson's recurrent interest in this field indicates otherwise; and the silence of the readers is no more remarkable than was their lack of comment on the material in the droleries.

We are not warranted in deducing from this survival a reactionary movement against neo-classicism; it indicates merely that neo-classicism had not yet penetrated all quarters, that the new, fashionable doctrines, however widely accepted, were still in advance of current reading tastes, that the pre-1716 editions of the Miscellany are representative of only a somewhat limited group, and that a market for the lyrics and ballads of the earlier miscellanies survived as late as 1727. The continuity of the survival into the first quarter of the eighteenth century of earlier poems and ballads is interesting, for it helps throw light on a hitherto rather neglected aspect of eighteenth-century reading tastes and has, perhaps, some bearing on the poetry of the period. But further study in the late seventeenth-century miscellanies and the duration of their popularity as revealed by reprints and by the commonplace books is necessary before we can have a well-rounded knowledge of this transitional period.

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A MIDDLE ENGLISH PRAYER ROLL

Manuscript 486 of The Pierpont Morgan Library is an unusual roll manuscript consisting of three pieces of vellum nearly seven feet long and some six inches wide, probably executed in the north of England in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Apart from the rather rough decorative work, the manuscript is of interest for its literary content which consists of three Latin prayers and

one in English, all of which are common in early Liturgical books, and a poem in English on the Passion, written in the form of the more famous "Fifteen Oes of Christ." This poem appears to be known in no other manuscript and is not listed in Professor Carleton Brown's *A Register of Middle English Religious & Didactic Verse* (Oxford, 1916-20). The prayers, which fill the first of the three strips of vellum, are the following:

I

Ave domina sancta Maria, mater Dei, regina celi, porta paradisi, domina mundi, lux sempiterna, imperatrix inferni, singularis et pura. Tu es virgo, tu concepisti Jesum Cristum sine peccato, tu peperisti creatorem, redemptorem ac saluatorem mundi, in quo non dubito. Libera me ab omnibus malis et ora pro peccatis meis. Amen.¹

II

(S)it dulce nomen domini nostri Jhesu Cristi benedictum: et nomen virginis Marie genetricis Dei in eternum et vitra. Amen Jhesus Cristus.²

III

Ave Maria, alta stirps lilij castitatis. Aue profunda viola vallis humilitatis. Aue lata rosa campi diuine charitatis. Aue abyssalis fons omnis gratie et misericordie: celi ros fructifer omnis diuine suauitatis et deuotionis. Amen.³

IV

O mi souerayne lord Jhesu, the vary sone of all myghtye Gode and of þe moste cleyne & gloryous virgyne Mary, that sufferede the bitter deth for

¹ Found, also, in the *Sarum Prymer* (Paris: Thielmann Kerver, 1532—Morgan 1046), f. CCXXVII, recto. In a slightly different form, it occurs in the *Sarum Horae* (Paris: François Regnault, 25 May, 1536—Morgan 1035, Sign B₁₁ verso) with the note: "Our holy fader Sixtus the .iiij. pope hath graunted to all them that deuoutly say this prayer before the ymage of our Lady the some of .xi. M. yers of perdon." This prayer may be found in still another form in manuscripts; compare MS. Lat. 14830, f. 84^v, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Hours for the use of Rouen*).

² Le pape Boniface à la prière du roy de France donna à touz ceulx qui diront dévotement ceste oroison .XX. ans de vroy pardon: Sit dulce nomen domini nostri Jhesu Xpisti benedictum. Et nomen uirginis Marie genetricisque eiusdem in eternum. Amen. (B.N., MS. Lat. 10528, f. 21^r—*Hours for the use of Paris*).

³ This is found also in the *Sarum Prymer*, f. CXLVII, and in the *Sarum Horae*, f. XLV, with the note: "Our holy father Bonifacius pope of Rome hath graunted vnto all them that say deuoutly thys prayer. hondred days of pardon."

my saike & all mankynd vppon Goode Fryday & roose agayn the thride day. I beseeche the, Lorde, to haue mercy vppon me that am a wretchede synner, but ȝit þi creatour; and for þi precyous passion, saue me and kepe me fro all perilles bodely and gostly, & specially from all thynges that myght torne to þi displeasour. And with all my hart, I thanke the, moste mercyfull Lorde, for þi great merceyes þat thu has shewed me in the great daungers þat I haue beyn in, as well in my soull as in my body, & that þi grace & endlesse merceye haith euer kept me, spared me and sauede me fro the howre of my brithe into this tyme. I thanke the, Lorde, þat thi mercy may kepe me forth all way, & I cry þe merceye with all my hool hart for my gret offences, for my great vnkyndnesse and for all my wretchede and synfull lyff. & þat I can not lead my liff as thi seruande, I crye the mercy for my trispassse. Deus.⁴

Though the poem which follows these prayers is of little poetic value, it can easily find its place in the corpus of Middle English religious pieces among poems of equal or lesser merit. It is clearly of northern origin as both dialectal and orthographic⁵ forms of North English or Scottish origin are found, for example *maike*, *wrayke*, *taike*, *stude*, *tuke*, *thrught*, *weitt* and *qwhit* (in addition to those specially noted); the present participle, however, ends in *-yng*, pointing more towards North England than to Scotland itself. The poem is obviously not the work of a great poet; the metre is indifferent and the rhyme is poor.⁶ For the latter, we may note *place : was*, *the to : vnto*, *bee : dye*, and especially the doubtful *mercy : be-kenee* and the assonance in *swett : wepe*.

⁴ This prayer may be found, with only minor differences, in the *Prymer*, ff. CCXXXIX (verso)—CCXL. It has the printed title: "A deuout prayer to Jesu chryst," and a manuscript note in the margin reads: "ffor good ffriday." Through the courtesy of Dr. Jenkins and Miss Churchill, I have learned that the prayer is also found in the copy of the Sarum *Horae* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, c. 1494, ff. 147-8) preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library, London.

⁵ The orthography may tell us little of the actual pronunciation of the words; so, for example in stanza VI, *be-holde* could hardly have been intended to be spoken with a decidedly round *o* as it is made to rhyme with *callde*. It was probably pronounced more like the northern *behold*. The same is true, no doubt, in stanza IV, when *strok* must stand for Scottish *strait* in order to make the rhyme.

⁶ The poem has been transcribed in the usual way, all contractions being expanded and italicized. Some erasures and corrections occur in the manuscript; these corrections have been noted by enclosing them in round brackets.

I

O *Jhesu* grant me þi will off wepyng
 Withe teris tricklyng vnto þi feett
 As thu ffind þi dyscypils slepyng
 At the mont off Olyuete
 Blud and watter thu dyde swett
 For dred of dethe fast dyde thu praye
 Ales! that cause shuld gare me wepe
 For my vnkyndnes nyght & daye
Pater noster aue Maria

II

O *Jhesu* than was thow full sone takyn
 At thi prayers wher thu wentt
 Thi seruandes son had the for-sakyne
 Be lyue the Juys thai had the hent
 Thai scorged the withe great torment
 Thay band þe and brought þe to the towne
 Ales! I may full sore repentt
 That myndes not off þi passion
Pater noster aue Maria

III

That brought was into Caphus hall
 Withe fols accusyng in their presens
 Wher great scornys thu sufferit all
 To preson thai put the as a thrall
 Wher thu stude bondyn all þe nyght
 Ales! what ruth shall me be-fall
 That had no ruthe to se þat sight
Pater noster aue Maria

IV

O *Jhesu* in the mornyng may we see
 þu gud throught þe stret with many strok
 To Pilot petuesly brozt thay thee
 And fols accusyng many did maike
 And Pilot saw how all thair wrayk
 Was by inuy to haue the slayne
 And ȝit ales! no thought I tayke
 What passion þu sufferit for my syne
Pater noster aue Maria

V

O *Jhesu* Pilot sent the thene
 To Herot kyng throught out þe stret
 Thai left on þe their cursit mene

The myer þat layde vnder þer feett
 Kyng Herot as a fowll þe lede
 And sent the agayne all clede in qwhit
 Ales! Jhesu thy bodye swett
 For me þu sufferit great dyspitt
Pater noster aue Maria

VI

O Jhesu now may we be-holde
 The pepill cryed to haue þe dede
 And Pilot to his counsell callde
 And dampnyt þe ther in that stede
 Fro þi bare þu turned thi hede
 As who drawith thaym to þer dome
 Ales! þai gart thi body blede
 For our saluacion that þeder come
Pater noster aue Maria

VII

O Jhesu than was thu turned nakitt
 Thy fair body for to be bett
 For dred of deth þi flesche it whakit
 Thay layd on the with scorgis gret
 That þi blud ran down vnto þi feet
 For euery stroke raf skyne & flesche
 Ales! I maye my chekes weitt
 That hathe no ruthe of þi anguysses
Pater noster aue Maria

VIII

O Jhesu than cled þai the in a mantill of paull
 And croned þe with thornys keyne
 To þi brayn brast withe all
 Thi blud rane on the eyne
 Ales! thai tuke it all in teyne
 Thay set a crosse in-to thi hande
 And scorned the all be deyne
 And said haill kyng of Juys land
Pater noster aue Maria

IX

O Jhesu than was þu rassed be lyff
 So hard thai pullit þi mantill þe fro
 Than skyne & flesche be-gane to riff
 So hard it cleuit þi body vnto
 A-bowt thi dethe fast dyd þai goo
 A crosse thay gart ly on þi backe

Thay let it foll vppon the soo
 That ner þi shulder all to bracke
Pater noster aue Mar[ia]

X

O Jhesu now may I rayr & morne
 To se þi payns þat was so gret
 When þu saw thy mother come
 She fell in swonyng at þi feet
 Then women gane þer chekes wett
 And thu sayd peese woman wep not see me
 And for fayntnes failled þi ffeett
 Ales! thay fell down with þe crose on thee
Pater noster aue Ma[ria]

XI

O Jhesu nowe may we ssee asse
 þai gart þe go agayn þi myzt
 Thay gart on bere the crosse
 Symonde seruand þat he heght
 When thai com at þe hill of hight
 With hedyous payns þai turned þe nakit
 Ales! it was a rewoffull syght
 To se thi body as it whakytt
Pater noster aue Ma[ria]

XII

O Jhesu than thi mothere rane
 And say the naylit & cryet ales
 Through hir presse she to þe wane
 Emonges all people that there was
 Then swonyt she thrise in þat place
 For sorow þu myght not spek hirto
 And that to þe more sorow was
 Then all befor þat thay cuthe doo
Pater noster aue Ma[ria]

XIII

O Jhesu strong was thy bandes
 Vppon a cros when þai kest the
 Thay pullit þi rops þi feet þi handes
 Nailed þe hard vnto a tree
 That ilk a synfull man mayght see
 Thi blude ryne down on stremys red
 Ales! Jhesu what aylis mee
 To haue no pitye off þi dede
Pater noster aue Ma[ria]

XIV

O Jhesu than left thai vp the tree
 Thai rogit þi body heder & theder
 To all thy synuis brast in þe
 Thi blude þu blede all to-githere
 Thu askit a drynk & þai wer leder
 A bitter draught þai broȝt the to
 Ales! þu be-gane to whak & wheder
 The thirst it went þi hart vnto

Pater noster aue Ma[ria]

XV

O Jhesu nowe may I see (howe)
 A full sharp sper (went) to þi hart
 For loue of me þi goste (gave thowe)
 Thi father dere & dyet with (smarte)
 Lord Jhesu I praye to the
 That þu wolde here my oracioune
 And grant me grace (with the to be
 In ioie and blisse there for to wone)

Envoy

(Lord Jhesu blessedde may thowe bee)
 With honore & ioie & all lovyng
 That wold be mane & for vs dye
 Lorde Jhesu grant me goode endyng
 Mercy Jhesu and grant mercye
 ffor bode & sawll I the be-kenee

**In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti
 amen: Pater noster aue Maria: credo in Deum.**

IHS

GLOSSARY

- I, 3. *ffand*—past tense of find; largely Scottish in XV century.
 7. *gare*—gar = make, do, perform; chiefly Scottish and Northern,
 used a number of times.
 II, 6. *band*—past tense of bind; largely Northern.
 III, 6. *stude*—past tense of stand; Scottish and Northern.
 IV, 2. *ȝud*—form *ð* of yode (NED); used by Barbour and Dunbar.
 5. *wrayk*—Scottish form of wrake = active enmity.
 V, 3. *mene*—mean = complaint.
 VI, 5. *bare*—figurative sense of bare or bier? ?
 VII, 3. *whakit*—Scottish form of quaked.
 6. *raf*—past tense of rive = lacerate; Scottish form.

- VIII, 1. paull—Scottish form of pall = rich cloth, or as OE., purple cloth?
 3. brast—"northern form of Burst" (NED).
 5. teyne—Scottish form of teen = malice.
 7. deyne—dain = disdain.
- IX, 1. rasséd—rase (NED, verb 1) or race (NED, verb 4)?
 3. riff—Scottish form of infinitive, rive.
 8. bracke—Scottish form, from break.
- X, 1. rayr—roar = cry with despair; used by Barbour and Douglas.
- XI, 1. asse—for else?
- XII, 2. say—past tense of see.
 3. wane—past tense of win = to make one's way; chiefly Scottish and Northern in this sense.
- XIV, 1. left—past tense of lift.
 2. rogit—past tense of rog = to shake.
 5. leder—lither = wicked, base.
 7. whak & wheder—quake and wither.
- XV, 8. wone = dwell; chiefly Northern.
- Envoy, 6. be-keneë—beken = commend. A form specially created so as to make the rhyme bekeneë: mercyë.? ?

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LA DATE DE L'ORAISON DE L'ÂME FIDÈLE ET SON IMPORTANCE POUR LA BIOGRAPHIE MORALE DE MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE

La question de la pensée de Marguerite de Navarre est encore loin d'être résolue. Tour à tour on a cru reconnaître en elle une fervente de Platon à tendance protestante,¹ une mystique panthéiste,² un disciple des libertins spirituels³ et une luthérienne.⁴ A

¹ Voir Lefranc, A., *Les idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre d'après son œuvre poétique*, dans *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français*, années 1897-98; *Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance*, dans *Grands Ecrivains français de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1914. Moench, W., *Die italienische Platonrenaissance und ihre Bedeutung für Frankreichs Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte* (1450-1550), Berlin, 1936, pp. 311-339.

² Parturier, E., *Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre*, dans *Revue de la Renaissance*, v (1904), 1 et 49.

³ Brunetière, F., *Histoire de la Littérature française classique*, I, 168 sqq. Busson, H., *Du Rationalisme dans la Littérature française de la*

l'appui de ces diverses thèses, on n'a éprouvé aucune peine à trouver dans les ouvrages de la reine nombre de passages convaincants. Cependant, il s'agit non seulement de savoir quelle est l'idée prédominante de ces œuvres mais de se demander s'il n'y a peut-être pas eu évolution.

Evidemment, ce n'est que lorsqu'on aura définitivement établi la chronologie des œuvres de Marguerite qu'on pourra se vanter d'avoir résolu le problème. Ph. Aug. Becker et Pierre Jourda se sont mis à cette tâche, mais leurs résultats demandent encore à être complétés.⁵ Ce qu'il y a d'étonnant dans le travail considérable de ce dernier, c'est que la masse des faits n'ait pas permis de tirer des conséquences plus positives sur la pensée de la reine. En ce qui concerne au moins un des poèmes, *l'Oraison de l'Âme fidèle*, nous croyons que si Jourda avait appliqué là le procédé de Becker sans préjugé, comme il l'a fait pour d'autres de moindre intérêt, il aurait découvert que ce poème ne date pas de 1527-1530, mais bien de 1540-1547.⁶ La manière dont on parvient à établir cette date, ainsi que les renseignements qui en découlent, constituent le sujet du présent article.

Dans les œuvres de la première période, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la publication du *Miroir de l'Âme pécheresse* (1531), on trouve surtout les idées de ceux qu'on a appelés évangéliques ou réformistes et qui formèrent le cénacle de Meaux.⁷ Ces idées se rattachent

Renaissance (1533-1601), Paris, 1922 (Chap. X: *Les Libertins spirituels*, p. 315).

⁴ Moore, W. G., *La Réforme allemande et la Littérature française*, Strasbourg, 1930 (Chap. VIII: Les grands esprits: Marot et Marguerite, p. 178). Renaudet, A., *Marguerite de Navarre (à propos d'un ouvrage récent)*, dans *RSS*, XVIII (1931), 272-308.

⁵ Becker, Ph. A., *Jugendgeschichte Margareta's aus einer Wiener Handschrift*, dans *ASNS*, CXXXI (1913), 334-347. Jourda, P., *Marguerite d'Angoulême*, Paris, 1930.

⁶ "Nous croyons . . . que l'on pourra, sans crainte d'erreurs, admettre que le *Miroir* et *l'Oraison de l'Âme fidèle* sont postérieurs à 1525. Comme les événements de 1525-27 ont interrompu la production de Marguerite, ces deux poèmes auraient donc été composés entre 1527 et 1531." Jourda, *op. cit.*, p. 1109. (On trouvera le texte de *l'Oraison* dans l'édition des *Marguerites* publiée par Félix Frank, Paris, 1873, I, 76-132).

⁷ Becker, Ph. A., *Marguerite, duchesse d'Alençon, et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d'après leur correspondance inédite (1521-1524)*, dans *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français*, année 1900, pp. 393-477 et 661-667; *Les idées religieuses de G. Briçonnet, évêque de*

étroitement à celles de Luther: justification par la foi, liberté vis-à-vis de la Loi (excepté du Décalogue), référence constante aux Saintes Ecritures (surtout aux Epîtres de Paul), duel de l'esprit et de la chair, etc. On retrouve tout cela dans le *Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne* et dans le *Miroir*. En outre, tout comme le Luther des débuts, Marguerite a des élans de mysticisme, mais telle n'est nullement la note dominante des œuvres qu'elle a composées avant 1531, à moins qu'on n'étende démesurément la notion de mysticisme. Jusqu'à cette date la foi et l'Ecriture constituent sa pensée directrice; il n'est encore nullement question de la folie et de la fausseté du *cuyder*.

Pourtant l'un des poèmes qu'on croit être de cette période se distingue nettement des autres par le ton; en un mot, l'idée de *cuyder* y fait son apparition. C'est l'*Oraison de l'Ame fidèle*, qui ne fut publiée qu'en 1547 dans le recueil des *Marguerites*. La raison pour laquelle Jourda suppose qu'il remonte aux premières années créatrices de la reine, c'est apparemment qu'il fut imprimé avec les *Marguerites* plutôt qu'avec la *Suite des Marguerites*.⁸ En réalité et comme l'indique déjà la date de publication, cette *Oraison* appartient à une période ultérieure qui va approximativement de 1540 à 1547. C'est ce que nous allons essayer de démontrer.

Tout d'abord, l'*Oraison* reproduit exactement l'état d'âme qui fut celui de Marguerite à cette époque, tel que nous le connaissons d'après les poèmes dont on croit avoir établi la date avec certitude (par exemple, la *Fable du Faux Cuyder*, le *Triomphe de l'Agneau*, la *Coche*). Après la mort de François Ier, la tendance mystique qui commence vers 1540 devient encore plus marquée et nous avons le *Navire* et les *Prisons*, sans parler des *Chansons spirituelles* dont les premières remontent peut-être à la date ci-dessus. En effet, durant les dix dernières années de sa vie, Marguerite a cessé d'être un simple disciple des évangéliques. Elle néglige maintenant de se reporter fidèlement à l'Ecriture; les renvois fréquents qu'elle y faisait autrefois ont presque disparu. Elle a dépassé Calvin, car elle pousse l'amour de Dieu jusqu'à l'extrême limite de la liberté, c'est-à-dire qu'elle se refuse à reconnaître que le péché

Meaux, dans *Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses*, année 1900, pp. 318 et 377.

⁸ Jourda, *op. cit.*, pp. 1122-1124 (*Hypothèse relative aux Marguerites et aux Dernières Poésies*).

existe pour celui qui est pénétré de cet amour. Ce qui ressort tout particulièrement des écrits de la dernière époque, c'est non seulement le néant de la créature (antithèse du Tout et du Rien, qu'elle exprime déjà à ses débuts et qui, probablement par Briçonnet, remonte à Tauler et à Suso⁹), mais la haine du *cuyder* ou raison humaine, obstacle au bonheur et même source de tout mal. Il faut insister sur les faits suivants : 1° cette dernière idée n'apparaît dans aucun des poèmes de jeunesse, mais elle est exprimée avec force dans presque tous les poèmes écrits à partir de 1540, y compris *l'Oraison de l'Âme fidèle* ; 2° cette attitude envers le *cuyder* est le trait le plus caractéristique des *libertins spirituels*.¹⁰

Deux conséquences naturelles de cet état d'esprit sont l'abandon de l'activité intellectuelle visant à l'érudition et l'indifférence vis-à-vis de la moralité conventionnelle et des églises "visibles." La seconde aide à comprendre pourquoi Marguerite n'a jamais éprouvé le besoin de renoncer ouvertement au catholicisme et aussi pourquoi elle a composé avec tant de candeur les anecdotes scabreuses qui couvrent nombre de pages de *l'Heptaméron*. Quant à la première, vu la manière dont la reine a encouragé les humanistes et les traducteurs, elle surprend plutôt. Néanmoins, dans les *Prisons*, Marguerite déclare expressément qu'à un moment donné elle fut saisie d'un dégoût profond envers les livres, qui constituaient sa dernière "prison."¹¹

⁹ Voir Parturier, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Voir les traités de Calvin *Contre la secte . . . des libertins . . . spirituels* (1545) et *Contre un certain cordelier . . . suppost de la secte des libertins* (1547). Cf.: "La nature humaine et le monde visible ne sont en eux-mêmes que des phénomènes sans consistance; mais l'homme s'attribue ainsi qu'au monde qui l'environne une existence réelle et autonome: illusion funeste, qui tient à l'imperfection de sa nature, et dont le siège est sa pensée défectueuse, ou, suivant l'expression favorite des libertins, le *cuidier*." (Jundt, A., *Histoire du Panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au Seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1875, p. 137.)

¹¹ *Dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*, publiées par A. Lefranc, Paris, 1896, p. 185 sqq. Entre beaucoup d'autres, les vers suivants sont significatifs:

Bien longuement ceste lutte dura
Entre nous deux, dont mon cueur endura,
Par maincte année et longue experience,
Par mainet tourment et mainet impassience,
Tant de douleurs, qu'à la fin se rendit,
Quand dans ce feu une voix entendit.

Une lettre du réformateur Bucer à la reine laisse entrevoir qu'en 1538 celle-ci était déjà au courant des idées de la secte des *libertins spirituels*.¹² Vers cette date, deux des chefs du mouvement, Pocque et Quintin, furent reçus à Nérac où ils devinrent pour un temps les "serviteurs" de la reine.¹³ Lorsque Calvin lança son *Traité contre la secte phantastique et furieuse des Libertins qui se nomment spirituels* (1545), elle prit si vigoureusement leur défense que le réformateur genevois se sentit obligé de se justifier.¹⁴ Bien que Quintin ait été mis à mort l'année suivante à Tournay, rien ne prouve que Pocque ne soit pas demeuré auprès de la reine.¹⁵

Mais la preuve concrète que l'*Oraison* a été composée assez tard se trouve dans la versification. D'après la table qui suit (et qui est due en partie à Becker), on constatera que jusque vers 1527 le poète employait volontiers l'ancienne césure féminine dite *lyrique*, du type suivant:

O Nature (4 syllabes) *où est vostre défense?* (6 syllabes)

et qu'elle ignorait presque totalement la césure moderne avec élision, conforme à l'exemple suivant:

Grâce pour grâce (4 syllabes) *et plus leurs cœurs s'abaissent* (6 syllabes).

Si on lit ces deux vers à haute voix, on se rendra compte du défaut

C'est ceste voix qui au buysson ardant
Fist au pasteur, qui estoit attendant,
De son saint nom la vérité sçavoir:
"Je suys qui suys qu'œil vivant ne peult veoir."
Ceste voix là, ceste parole vive,
Où nostre chair ne congnoist fondz ne rive,
Me print, tua et changea si soudain
Que je perdis mon cuyder faulx et vain. (pp. 202-203)

¹² Reproduite dans *Calvini Opera*, t. VII, *prolegomena*, p. XXI.

¹³ D'après l'*Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées*, ed. Baum et Cunitz, Paris, 1883-1889, I, 37. Il y a un Antoine Pocque aumônier de Jeanne d'Albret dès 1539. Cf. Lefranc et Boulenger, *Comptes de L. de Savoie et de M. d'Angoulême*, Paris, 1905 (Cité par Jourda, *op. cit.*, p. 306, note).

¹⁴ Cette riposte de Calvin peut se lire dans Bonnet, J., *Lettres de Jean Calvin. Lettres françaises*. Paris, 1854, I, 111-117.

¹⁵ En 1548 le même Antoine Pocque figure encore sur la liste de sa maison en qualité d'aumônier. Cf. La Ferrière-Percy, H. de la, *Marguerite d'Angoulême, sœur de François Ier, son livre de dépenses (1540-1549)*, p. 178. Paris, 1862.

du premier, dans lequel on est obligé d'accentuer l'*e* muet du mot *nature*, afin de compléter l'hémistiche.

Poème	Date de composition	Nombre de vers	Nombre de césures lyriques	Nombre de c. par élision
Oraison à N. S. J. C.....	1527	219	36	1
Pater Noster.....	1527	290	59	3
Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne.....	1527	1293	175	3
Miroir de l'Âme péche- resse	1531	1434	74	40
La Coche.....	1540	1299	3	40
Oraison de l'Âme fidèle. ?		1800	3	68
Fable	1540-47	815	0	21
Triomphe de l'Agneau..	1540-47	1623	0	16

Comme en témoigne le *Miroir*, vers 1530 Marguerite fait un premier effort pour améliorer la forme de ses vers; en effet, si on y découvre encore 74 césures lyriques, le nombre de celles avec élision est monté à 40. N'oublions pas que c'est à ce moment-là que Marot prépare son *Adolescence clémentine*, dans la préface de laquelle il formule des préceptes se rapportant à la coupe féminine.¹⁶ Il semble inadmissible que Marguerite n'ait pas demandé quelques conseils à son protégé.

Quoi qu'il en soit, à partir de 1540, elle évite avec un soin extrême l'emploi de l'ancienne césure. Or, comme sur 1800 vers l'*Oraison* ne contient que trois cas de césure lyrique, on ne peut faire autrement que de la placer à côté de la *Coche*, de la *Fable du Faux Cuyder* et du *Triomphe de l'Agneau*, dont la proportion est analogue. En tout cas, il n'y a aucun doute qu'elle a été composée plus tard que le *Miroir*.

En résumé, puisque cette double analyse de fond et de forme donne des résultats identiques, il semble qu'il impose de faire une correction à la chronologie acceptée jusqu'ici et d'attribuer à

¹⁶ Cf. *Œuvres de Marot*, ed. Guiffrey, II, 15. Il est vrai que ce terme désigne plutôt la césure dite épique, que Marot avait employée dans ses toutes premières œuvres et à laquelle il avait décidé de renoncer. Mais, comme le dit Kastner, la césure lyrique, qu'on trouve encore au début du XVI^e siècle, notamment dans les œuvres de Gringoire et de Jean Marot, perd rapidement du terrain, et on n'en découvre pas un seul cas chez Clément. C'est par conséquent à lui que doit revenir le mérite d'avoir rejeté systématiquement ce vestige d'une époque lyrique primitive. (Voir Kastner, L. E., *A History of French Versification*, Oxford, 1903, p. 88.)

l'Oraison la date 1540-1546. Loin d'entraîner des complications, cette attribution permet de caractériser plus clairement deux des périodes créatrices de Marguerite et confirme une hypothèse avancée par certains chercheurs.¹⁷

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A CHAUCER ALLUSION

An apparently unnoticed allusion to Chaucer occurs in John Norden's *Labyrinth of Man's Life or Virtues Delight and Enuiues opposite* printed in 1614 and dedicated to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. In "The Author's farewell to his Booke" Norden pays homage to Chaucer, Gower and Gavin Douglas, eloquent poets in ages past, and then to Sidney and Spenser. These tributes are the more interesting because Norden at the same time mentions the difficulty which the contemporary reader has in deciphering Chaucer's "ambiguous phrases" although he knows that in Chaucer's day the poem was written in the vulgar tongue. Norden's chief complaint is lodged against contemporary poets who beset their poems with "Chaucer's words and phrases ancient," terms which demanded *comentation* to enable the reader to understand the matter.

THE AUTHOR'S FAREWELL TO HIS BOOKE

Chawcer, Gower, the bishop of Dunkell
In ages farre remote were eloquent:
Now *Sidney, Spencer*, others moe excell,
And are in latter times more excellent,
To antique *Laureats* parallel.¹

¹⁷ Brunetière (*op. cit.*) et Busson (*op. cit.*) insistent sur le rapprochement qu'il impose de faire entre Marguerite et les libertins spirituels mais n'envisagent pas d'évolution. Au contraire, Renaudet (*op. cit.*) est persuadé qu'il faut diviser la vie du poète en périodes, mais il n'établit pas de distinction foncière entre la toute première (avant 1527) et la dernière (après 1540), car il croit que le mysticisme à tendance luthérienne manifesté par Marguerite pendant sa jeunesse se réveille vers la fin de sa vie, sans autres changements sensibles que ceux résultant de la maturité.

¹ This stanza is quoted as a Spenser allusion in C. L. Powell's *English Domestic Relations*, p. 191.

But matters of great admiration,
 In moderne *Poesies* are wordes estrang'd
 Invention of hid speculation
 The scope whereof hardly conceiv' as it is rang'd
 But by a comentation.

Who readeth *Chaucer* as a *Modern man*
 Not looking back into the time he wrote,
 Will hardly his ambiguous *phrases* scan,
 Which in that time were vulgar, well I wote
 Yet we run back where he began.

And all our praised *Poems* art beset,
 With *Chaucers* wordes and *Phrases* ancient:
 Which these our *Moderne* ages quite forget
 Yet in their *Poems* far more Eloquent
 Not yet from *Gowre* or *Chaucer* fett.

Why should it not befit our *Poets* well,
 To use the wordes and *Phrases* *Vulgar* know?
 Why should they rouse them from oblivions cel
 Sith their ambiguous termes frō whence they flow
 The learned'st Reader scant can tell

But thinges illustrated with art and sence,
 As *Chaucer* did his *Troylus* and *Creside*:
 To amplifi't aptly with *Eloquence*
 Base matter by good *Verse* is beautifi'de,
 And gaines admired *Reverence*.

Not using *wordes* and *phrases* all so darke
 But so familiarly as *vulgar* may,
 Will apprehend the Poets couched marke
 And seeth' *Idea* which he doth display:
 About the *Center* in his *Arke*.

Was Norden criticizing the metaphysical poets? Perhaps he felt with Ben Jonson that Spenser writ no language. Norden says, however, that the highest type of poetry combines art and sense as Chaucer's *Troylus and Creside* abundantly illustrates, and base matter is always raised by good verse to a place of admiration. Norden himself would write in the *Labyrinth of Man's Mind*, a poem easily understood in which the idea is of central importance. This Chaucer allusion owes its interest to the praise which an early seventeenth century poet bestowed on Chaucer, Gower, Douglas, Sidney and Spenser; to his criticism of the contemporary poets

who conceal their ideas in the ambiguous phrases of another age, and to his own feeling that art and sense are required to elevate the poets matter.

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CHAUCER'S *TAILLYNGE YNOUGH*.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Robinson, in his edition of Chaucer, has not completely glossed the vulgar, but extremely pertinent, pun which ends the Shipman's Tale. In l. 416, the wife says, of the money which she has spent, "score it upon my taille." Dr. Robinson gives the meaning "'Score it upon my tally'; charge it to my account." It is probable, however, that there is a pun here. In Farmer and Henly's *Dictionary*, *tail* is given as having the meaning "the female *pudendum*." In view of the situation of the wife and her husband at the time when she makes this remark, it is appropriate in its slang meaning.

In the last lines of the story, the Shipman says ". . . God us sende/Taillynge ynough unto oure lyves ende. Amen." Dr. Robinson notes, "Here, as in many of the Tales, the final blessing is adapted to the story which precedes," and cites passages from *WBProI* which show that he is aware of the possibility of vulgarity. It is unfortunate, however, that he does not note that at present, and possibly in Chaucer's day, *tailing* has the meaning of "sexual intercourse."

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THE MONK'S TALE, A MEDIAEVAL SERMON

Because of the peculiar order in which sermon elements appear in the Monk's Tale, and the bareness of the examples, scholars do not seem to have considered it in the light of a sermon at all. Yet it accords with the description of the monastic sermon that is given by Mr. G. R. Owst in his *Preaching in mediaeval England*.¹ Of the convent library, he says:

¹ Cambridge, 1926.

. . . in the convent library, as contrasted with the homes of the secular clergy, lay ready for . . . daily use a comparatively rich selection of earlier homilies, expositions, "exemplaria," and the like, with all the added sanctity of age and reputation upon them.²

Such "exemplaria" form the body of the Monk's Tale. Mr. Owst's description of the monastic sermon is as follows:

The dullness as well as the scarceness of the monastic sermon of the period has already been noted elsewhere; and so far as we can judge from what remains, it is a pulpit that suggests something of the cloister stagnation as well as a cloister calm.³

That this was the effect of the Monk's "tragedies" on his hearers is borne out by the comments of the Knight, who cuts him short, and the Host.

It is interesting to note that the usual elements of the sermon are present, though not in the usual order. The theme is given in his definition of tragedy, which he says concerns

. . . hym that stood in greet prosperitee,
And is yfallen out of heigh degree
Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly. (ll. 1975-7)

The protheme apology begins with line 1984 and ends with "Have me excused of myn ignoraunce." (l. 1990) This is followed by a full restatement of the theme (ll. 1191-8) which ends with the moral

Lat no man truste on blynde prosperitee;
Be war by thise ensamples trewe and olde.

Then come the "exemplaria," sixteen in number, liberally spiced with such warnings as the following:

Lo, who may truste on Fortune any throwe?
For hym that folweth al this world of prees,
Er he be war, is ofte yleyd ful lowe. (ll. 2136-8)
. . . whan Fortune wole a man forsake,
She bereth away his regne and his richesse,
And eek his freendes, bothe moore and lesse. (ll. 2241-3)
Thus kan Fortune hir wheel governe and gye,
And out of joye brynge men to sorwe. (ll. 2397-8)

Despite the fact that the Monk is interrupted, he gives a complete redaction of his definition of tragedy, and his warning against Fortune:

² P. 50.

³ P. 255.

Tragedies noon oother maner thyng
 Ne kan in syngyng crie ne biwaille
 But that Fortune alwey wole assaille
 With unwar strook the regnes that been proude;
 For whan men trusteth hire, thanne wol she faille,
 And covere hire brighte face with a clowde. (ll. 2761-6)

This seems to indicate that the Monk was finished, although the Knight is evidently unaware of this, as is the Host.

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THE DATE OF SKELTON'S *BOWGE OF COURT*

In spite of the fact that scholars have placed the date of Skelton's *Bowge of Court* anywhere from 1499 to 1521, the poem was actually in print by 1500, probably in the year 1499. The wide range of date into which speculation has led scholars is explained by the fact that the *Bowge of Court*, like all the other early copies of Skelton's work with the exception of the *Garland of Laurel*, bears no date on its titlepage; hence any conclusions as to when it was published have rested on a number of hypotheses. Herford put the date of the poem within a dozen years after 1509.¹ He arrived at this period by assuming that the *Bowge of Court* unmistakably showed the influence of Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, a translation of Brandt's *Narrenschiff* published in 1509; he reached the other limit by assuming that the *Bowge* must have been written before the period of Skelton's attacks against Wolsey. Rey² and Koelbing³ agreed with Herford. Brie came closest to the truth.⁴ He argued that since Barclay's *Ship of Fools* was merely a translation of a work known in England for some years previously through Locher's

¹ Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, p. 351.

² Albert Rey, *Skelton's Satirical Poems in their Relation to Lydgate's Order of Fools*, etc., Bern, 1890, p. 51.

³ A. Koelbing, *Zur Charakteristik John Skelton's*, Freiburg, 1904, p. 69. In his chapter in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* on Barclay and Skelton, written after Brie's studies, Koelbing modifies his position.

⁴ Friedrich Brie, "Skelton-studien," *Englische Studien*, xxxvii, 40-41.

Latin translation in 1497, Skelton might well have been familiar with the *Narrenschiff* at any time after that date. But he is inclined to discount the influence of the *Narrenschiff* altogether, and on internal evidence place the *Bowge of Court* between 1499 and 1503, during which time Skelton is generally supposed to have been at court as Prince Henry's tutor. Berdan follows Brie in believing that the poem is a very early work, and goes a bit further in suggesting the possibility that the *Bowge of Court* was Skelton's explanation of his retirement to Diss, as a refuge from a court in which he found nothing good.⁵

The poem, as I have said, was originally printed before 1500. There are two copies extant, one in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh, the other in the University Library at Cambridge. Both are undated, and both are printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The colophon of the Advocates copy reads, "Thus endeth the Bowge of courte. / Enprynted at westmynster By me / Wynkyn the worde. /" The colophon of the Cambridge copy reads "Thus endeth the Bowge of courte Enprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde in flete strete, at the sygne of the sonne. /" Sometime in 1500, Wynkyn de Worde moved from Westminster to Fleet St. and never returned.⁶ Therefore any book printed by de Worde at Westminster must have been issued during or before 1500. There are two reasons for believing the *Bowge* to have been printed in 1499. The type used in this copy is de Worde's No. 4, 95 mm, a type which he is known to have used for the first time in 1499. Furthermore there are 29 lines to a page, which was characteristic of the majority of books published in that year.⁷ The copy at Cambridge is a later reprint of the Advocates copy.

Obviously this date disposes of any connection between Skelton's poem and Barclay's *Ship of Fools*. If dissatisfaction with court life sent Skelton to Diss by 1504, it was at least no sudden distaste, since he remained as part of the court for some years after he had written the *Bowge*.⁸ If, as has been generally supposed, he became Prince Henry's tutor in 1498, then we might assume that a newly

⁵ John M. Berdan, *Early Tudor Poetry*, New York, 1920, pp. 100-101.

⁶ E. Gordon Duff, *Early Printed Books*, London, 1893, p. 141.

⁷ E. Gordon Duff, *Early English Printing*, London, 1896, pp. 6-8.

⁸ His Latin treatise on Prince Henry is dated Eltham, 1501. See F. M. Salter, "Skelton's *Speculum Principis*," *Speculum*, 1934, ix, 36.

acquired knowledge of court life from first hand observation might have provoked him to write his satire. But recently a scholar has suggested with sound reasoning that Skelton may have been part of the court as early as 1489, in which case there would be no more reason to publish such a poem in 1499 than in any of the ten years preceding.⁹ I am inclined to believe that however long Skelton had been attached to the court, the impetus for the poem was furnished by Locher's Latin translation of the *Narrenschiff* in 1497. Since there is no evidence that Skelton knew German, he probably would not have been familiar with the original, published in 1494. But the Latin translation had gone into three editions in Germany and two in France by 1498. If he did read Locher, it was not the whole poem but only a small portion, the chapter on flattery and the vice of courtiers, that furnished the structural idea from which he evolved the *Bowge of Court*.

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SPENSER AND GOSSON

Stephen Gosson's dedication of *The Schoole of Abuse* to Master, afterwards Sir Philip Sidney, occasioned some comment from Spenser which is puzzling when further facts are revealed. On the 16th of October 1579 Spenser wrote to Harvey:

Newe Bookes I heare of none, but only of one, that writing a certaine Booke, called *The Schoole of Abuse*, and dedicating it to Maister Sidney, was for hys labor scorned: if at leaste it be in the goodnesse of that nature to scorne. Such follie is it, not to regarde aforehande the inclination and qualitie of him, to whom we dedicate oure Bookes.¹

Gosson apparently made his dedication without having asked Sidney about it. Spenser assumed that Gosson was looking for patronage, and himself, extremely sensitive to all the issues of dedication, for he had only lately published his *Calender*, suing likewise for Sidney's favour, could not fail to be taken by what seemed an indelicacy on Gosson's part.

The question becomes complicated when we find that Gosson dedi-

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

¹ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, I, 89.

cated his *Ephemerides of Phialo*, published in the fall of 1579, some months after the publication of *The Schoole of Abuse*, also to Sidney in these words:

. . . And sith it hath beene my fortune to beare sayle in a storme, since my first publishing the *Schoole of Abuse*, and too bee tossed by such as forme without reason, and threaten me death without a cause, feeling not yet my finger ake, I can not but acknowledge my safetie, in your Worships patronage, and offer you *Phialo* my chiefest Iuel, as a manifest pledge of my thankfull heart.²

This dedication shows either that Sidney had not "scorned" Gosson's book, or that Gosson was insensible to Sidney's contempt. Gosson had gone into the country after issuing *The Schoole of Abuse*,³ and may not have known of Sidney's censure, for censure it seems to have been, as evidenced by the *Defense*:

And yet I must say, that as I have just cause to make a pitiful defense of poor poetry, which from almost the highest estimation of learning is fallen to be the laughing-stock of children, so have I need to bring some more available proofs, since the former is by no man barred of his deserved credit, the silly latter hath had even the names of philosophers used to the defacing of it, with great danger of civil war among the Muses. And first, truly, to all them that, professing learning, inveigh against poetry, may justly be objected that they go very near to ungratefulness, to seek to deface that which, in noblest nations and languages that are known, hath been the first light-giver to ignorance. . . .⁴

There was no other popular abuse of poetry in existence up to the time of Sidney's death, and the allusion to those professing learning points to Gosson. But the second edition of *The Schoole of Abuse*, in 1587, retained the original dedication.⁵ Sidney, of course, was not living at this time. Spenser's letters appeared in print about the middle of 1580, and Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* was written, presumably, sometime between 1581 and 1583, though not published until 1595. The first of these must have been known to Gosson, and it is more than likely that the *Defense* was known to him from hear-

² *The Ephemerides of Phialo*, London, 1579. The Epistle Dedicatorie.

³ *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, in *The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes*, Roxburghe Library, 1869, p. 217. Also "Editor's Introduction" to *The Schoole of Abuse*, English Reprints, ed. Edward Arber, p. 5.

⁴ Philip Sidney, *The Defense of Poesy*, ed. A. S. Cook, p. 2.

⁵ Bernard Quaritch, *A Catalogue of Books in English History and Literature*, London, 1930, p. 261.

say. Yet in 1582 Gosson dedicated his *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* to Sidney's new father-in-law, Francis Walsingham.

A different attitude from Spenser's is called for. Gosson was looking for Sidney's patronage, and there is evidence that he received it. Considering the earnestness and seriousness of his attack on the theater, patronage for Gosson could not have meant what it did for Spenser. He laid his cause before Sidney because he thought him the best qualified to judge it, and before Walsingham because he thought him the best qualified to prosecute it. Certainly, Spenser's hasty assumption that Gosson was "scorned" by Sidney needs more substantial proof.

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A PROTOTYPE OF THE STORY IN *ZADIG* (CH. III):
LE CHIEN ET LE CHEVAL

Professor Ascoli in his edition of *Zadig*¹ traces the ancestry of the celebrated piece of scientific reasoning embodied in the tale of chapter III, *Le Chien et le Cheval*. Professor Ascoli shows that Voltaire's version is an adaptation or parallel of a story variously related by writers of the XVIIIth century. All these variants are traceable ultimately to one pattern. This primary source is Barthélemy d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, published in 1697, which first introduced to European readers the tale related by the Persian poet, Amir Khusraw of Delhi (1253-1325).

There is, however, an abridged form of Amir Khusraw's story that goes back a thousand years. It is found in the Talmud, Sanhedrin 104, and is there ascribed to Rabbi Jochanan who lived in the third century. The Rabbi thus relates an instance of the sagacity of the Jews:

It happened once that two men were taken prisoners on Mount Carmel, and their captor walked behind them. One of them said to his companion: "The camel that is going on ahead of us is blind of one eye and is laden with two leathern bags, one with wine and the other with oil, and two men are leading it, one of them a Jew and the other a Gentile." Said their captor to them: "O stiff-necked race, whence do you know this?"

¹ *Zadig*, édité par Georges Ascoli. Soc. des Textes français modernes, pp. 31-32 du Commentaire, Paris, 1929.

They answered him: "The camel is eating of the grass before it on the side on which it sees, but is leaving it uneaten on the side on which it is sightless. And it is laden with two leathern bags, the one of wine and the other of oil;—the one with wine is dripping and the drops are soaked up; while the one with oil is dripping and the drops remain on the surface. And as to the two men leading it, the one a Gentile and the other a Jew, the Gentile voided his excrement upon the road, while the Jew turned off from the road."² Then their captor ran and overtook them and found it was as they said, and he returned and kissed them upon the head and took them to his house and made a great banquet for them. etc.

How this Talmundic story came to the knowledge of Amir Khusraw can only be conjectured, but is not difficult to explain in view of the unbroken intercourse between Jews and Moslems through the centuries. That it is still earlier than Rabbi Jochanan seems apparent from his reporting it as an authentic historical illustration of Jewish penetration.

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HISTORIC DETAIL IN *THE BORDERERS*

In view of the emphasis ordinarily given to the literary and philosophical sources for Wordsworth's *The Borderers*, the modicum of actual historic detail also deserves some attention. If the setting of the play is indeed the vicinity of Brougham Castle,¹ and the time just subsequent to the Battle of Evesham, August 4, 1265,² then "that villain Clifford" is presumably Roger of the name (1211?-1285?). After a somewhat checkered career in which he raised for the Barons a force of Welsh irregulars much like the Borderers, deserted to the King, broke his parole after Lewes, and yet distinguished himself for that cruel age by saving the life of one of his defeated opponents at Evesham,³ this glorious swashbuckler received as part of the spoils of victory the right of wardship and marriage over Isabella de Vipont (Veteri Ponte).

² A reference to Deuteronomy 23, v. 13.

¹ J. H. Smith, "The Genesis of *The Borderers*," *PMLA*, XLIX, 3, (Sept., 1934), 922-930.

² *The Borderers*, II, 1021-1026.

³ Possibly this incident suggested the basis for the friendship between Oswald and Marmaduke. *The Borderers*, I, 27.

who became his daughter-in-law, and brought Brougham Castle into the family.⁴

That Wordsworth was interested in the Cliffords is suggested by his writing some years later the *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle*;⁵ and it is probably not a coincidence that the incident of Baron Herbert's exclusion from his fief in *The Borderers* should parallel the account of the "Good Lord Clifford's" deposition as given in the *Song*. Each nobleman loses his estate in a civil war, each lives many years in obscurity among humble folk, and each endures countless hardships and humiliations in the most admirable spirit.⁶

Prior to publication of *The Borderers* in 1843, Wordsworth, it will be remembered, changed the names of the characters originally called Mortimer, Rivers, and Matilda to Oswald, Marmaduke, and Idonea, respectively.⁷ If Clifford is Roger de Clifford, then the poet's point of departure in creating the exaggerated figure of Oswald may well have been Clifford's close associate, Roger de Mortimer (1231?-1282) who also changed sides at least once, broke a parole, and founded the greatness of his house.⁸ The re-naming of the young captain of the band suggests the influence of Wordsworth's removal from Dorset to the Lake District, since Marmaduke is the designation of various members of the Thweng family who after 1322 held the manor of Grasmere. As to the

⁴ Details from *DNB*. Wordsworth seems to have used, among other references, George Ridpath (Redpath), *The Border History of England and Scotland deduced from earliest Times to the Union of the Two Crowns*, London, 1776; and perhaps Nicolson and Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, 2 vols., London, 1792. The poet's wide familiarity with the traditions of the countryside makes specific identification of his historical sources difficult.

⁵ For this suggestion I am indebted to Professor R. D. Havens. Cf. *The White Doe of Rylstone*, I, 264-304.

⁶ Herbert is of course blind. That this detail may be due to the literary convention of "the last of the race" is suggested by the presence of other Ossianic influences as indicated by J. R. Moore, "Wordsworth's Unacknowledged Debt to MacPherson's *Ossian*," *PMLA*, XL, 2, (June, 1925) 362-378.

⁷ E. de Selincourt, "The Hitherto Unpublished Preface to Wordsworth's *Borderers*," *Nineteenth Century and After*, C (Nov. 1926), 733 n. That Wordsworth was what might be called name conscious is suggested by the quotations prefixed to Peter Bell.

⁸ Details from *DNB*.

young heroine, the right of wardship and marriage over Idonea de Vipont, sister of Isabella mentioned above, was granted soon after Evesham to another somewhat unscrupulous associate of Clifford's, Roger de Leybourne (d. 1271). Leybourne actually married Idonea to his son, but the tradition that the middle-aged guardian himself became the husband of his young ward to secure her estates has persisted strongly enough to be recorded as fact in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.⁹

No far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from these bits of hypothesis, but in the aggregate they would seem to indicate that, despite the known influence of *Caleb Williams*, *Othello*, and *Die Räuber*, Wordsworth did adapt for his purposes actual historical characters and incidents.

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PORPHYRIA'S LOVER

Browning's *Porphyria's Lover* has been called a study in madness, on the strength, perhaps, of his having once entitled it *Madhouse Cell, No. II*. The poem, however, had probably been written as early as 1834, was certainly published in 1836 in *The Monthly Repository*, and so far had been called simply *Porphyria*. Not until 1842, when it was reprinted along with *Johannes Agricola* in *Dramatic Lyrics*, did it receive the invidious title. In 1863 the pair was divided, *Porphyria* becoming *Porphyria's Lover*.

One of Browning's earliest compositions, this poem was a product of the "confessional" mood which had inspired *Pauline* in 1833. Unconventional as Porphyria's lover is, he is no more mad than many another of Browning's heroes. Knowing that Porphyria loves him passionately but has not the strength of character necessary to make her true to him, he thinks it better that she should die rather than sully her spiritual purity in the marriage-bed of a man she does not love. "And yet God has not said a word!" Why should He? Was not this the doctrine Browning was later to preach a thousand and one times?—

⁹ Under Roger de Clifford.

And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
 Is—the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin,
 Though the end in sight was a vice, I say.

(*The Statue and the Bust*)

But in 1842 Browning had not the courage of his convictions. His advertisement is well known. "Such poems as the following come properly enough, I suppose, under the head of 'Dramatic Pieces'; being, though for the most part Lyric in expression, always Dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine." So in reprinting *Porphyria* and *Johannes Agricola* he felt they might injure susceptibilities, the former by its unconventional moral, the latter by its scathing satire on religious orthodoxy.¹ The title, *Madhouse Cells*, was a convenient means of fobbing the two poems off as entirely objective studies in mental aberration.

By 1863, however, he had got over the worst pangs of poetical stage-fright, and was undertaking more and more to express his own opinions in his poems. It was time to get rid of the title, *Madhouse Cells*, and the humbug it stood for. Without it no one would have ever thought *Porphyria's Lover* a study in anything madder than the sort of eccentricity readers of Browning are accustomed to.

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RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800¹

Stith Thompson's monumental *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* is now completed in six volumes, the last being its "Alphabetical Index," of over 600 pages, which should prove one of the most useful tools of research for students of the early history of prose fiction. The sub-title indicates the riches to be found therein,—

¹ See my article in *SP*, xxxiii (1936), 618.

² Because a longer period than usual has passed since my last report, and because a larger number of books and articles than ever before have had to be examined, I am forced to limit my comments to succinct accounts of the chief purposes and uses of the more important books and articles, and sometimes to a mere mention of titles. For the same reasons my personal comments will often seem dogmatic, lack of space preventing presentation of supporting evidence.

"A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-books, and Local Legends." There seems to be no thing, no creature, no person, no belief, no custom, and almost no subject in human experience, as to which this Index will not furnish you with references to the places where they appear in folk-literature of all the peoples of the world, alphabetically beginning with Aaron's rod and ending with Zuni-girls' facials. It will facilitate research into any topics that received fictional treatment in early times. Hilda M. Ransome's ingenious *Sacred Bee in Ancient Times and Folklore*, rich though it is in apiarian tales, could draw upon it to advantage; and even so theoretic a discussion as Hans M. Wolff's "Die Omnipotenz als literarisches Motiv" (*Neophilologus*, xxii, 270) might be improved by consultation of such items as "God," "Power," etc. Henceforth the discovery (especially, I surmise, in medieval prose chronicles) of unregistered tales, and the pinning of "Not in Stith Thompson" tags to them, will prove a difficult but delightful pursuit among scholars.

The question which Lord Raglan raises in *The Hero* is this: How did the tales of traditional heroes, founders and leaders of nations or cults, originate? He is well qualified for his inquiry; he has a rich classical culture, wide reading in the myths of many peoples, and some anthropological knowledge (of the school of Sir James G. Frazer). To understand, however, why his answer seems to himself so convincing, one ought to be aware of some of his *bêtes-noires*. He dislikes mysticism. "The idea," he says, "that it is natural to believe in the supernatural has only to be stated to show its absurdity" (which may not be as obviously true to everybody else as it is to him). He despises the theory that some myths may have originated in dreams, or, as he puts it, "the idea that a lobster-supper may lead to a new religion." He distrusts local legends which are alleged to have been handed down orally for generations. Though of the ancient house of Somerset, and a descendant of John of Gaunt, he is outspokenly sceptical as to the reliability of most of the pedigrees of the British aristocracy. He doubts the reality of that persistent "race-memory" and "folk-memory" which those scholars postulate who consider many traditional myths to be based on historic events. Uncivilized peoples, without chronology and written records, can have no history; and to suppose the folk can remember incidents of more than 150 years ago (van Gannep granted 200) is to be ignorant and fanciful. Those Norse sagas which are termed "historical" (he maintains against L. H. Gray, H. J. Rose, and others) are misnamed; nor was there any "historic" Arthur or Cuchulainn.

The positive thesis of this iconoclastic rationalist is that traditional myth is rooted in ritual worship: it is "a description of what should be done by a king (priest, chief, or magician) in order to secure and maintain the prosperity of his people, told in the form of a narrative of what a hero, that is, an ideal king, etc., once did." In sacred ritual, there is not history, but eternity; life there is constantly being begun again. When we compare the traditional accounts of Zeus, Oedipus, Jason, Romulus, Moses, Elijah, Sigurd, Cuchulainn, King Arthur, Robin Hood, etc., we perceive beneath the superficial differences a common pattern of the hero's life. The chief incidents are twenty-two in number; and a detailed analysis of the lives of twenty-one non-historical heroes shows that in every case many of those incidents are found,—in most cases seventeen or more. In the narratives of historical heroes, e. g. Alexander, only six or seven, at most, of these incidents are present (the author admits that mythical incidents are often attached to historic heroes). The incidents, moreover, are the sort that would be suitable in propitiatory ritual. Among the oft-recurring features of heroic myths which suggest kinship with ritual drama are the many dialogues, soliloquy, prophecy, the seemingly ageless nature of the characters, descriptions of attire, the setting of scenes in porticoes, the use of processions, the single combats (instead of battles), etc.

There is much here that is original, but the basic idea is evidently drawn from Frazer. The pupil, however, tends to carry the theory a great deal farther than the master. Frazer (see *The Golden Bough*, ix, 374) recognized ritual as the source of *some* myths, but Raglan at times seems to hold that it was the source of nearly all important ones. He also assumes that incidents which are notably dramatic can indicate only a ritual origin, ignoring the fact that history, too, may occasionally be dramatic. It is, however, only fair to add that in his closing passages he is somewhat less overconfident than elsewhere, and admits not having sufficient evidence to prove that traditional narrative is *always* connected with the ritual drama. "Yet I hope," he continues, "that this connection is everywhere at least probable, whereas there is nowhere any valid evidence to connect the traditional narrative with historic fact." It will be interesting to learn what Professor and Mrs. Chadwick have to say concerning Raglan's contempt for their faith in tribal historians (he offers the double-barreled retort: savages have no absorbing interest in history; and even if a few had, "patriots are unreliable historians"); and it is to be hoped that they will not ignore this challenging work in the forthcoming last volume of their *Growth of Literature*.

Elizabeth H. Haight's *Essays on Ancient Fiction* contains a good study of Apuleius, but is especially valuable because it includes studies of Greek and Latin fictions that are ordinarily slighted,—Milesian tales, Plutarch's *Bravery of Women*, Parthenius' *Love Romances*, and Seneca's *Controversiae*. The selected bibliography is excellent.—B. E. Perry, in *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* gives the first thorough account of the subject.—The history of the legend of Apollonius of Tyre is set forth in the introduction to Grismer and Atkins' translation of a thirteenth-century Spanish version. The original romance, through a Latin version, Margaret Schlauch (*Classical Weekly*, April 12, 1937) believes, may have influenced the Tristan story.—Many of the fictitious elements of the Alexander romance are traced to their originals in E. Mederer's *Die Alexanderlegenden bei den ältesten Alexanderhistorikern* (*Würzburger Studien*).

R. H. Malden interprets the Hebrew religious fictions,—*Tobit*, *Judith*, *Susanna*, etc., in *The Apocrypha*.—A superb edition of a Greek text of *Acta Pauli*, one of the most important early Christian romances, is given us by Carl Schmidt (Hamburg Library), with a thorough account of the relation of the fictitious episodes to their sources.—In *The Desert Fathers*, Helen Waddell has gracefully translated the least fantastical and most appealing passages of *Vitae Patrum*.—A strange fourth-century fiction is described in N. H. Baynes' "The Death of Julian the Apostate [murdered by two "saints"!]" in a Christian Legend" (*Journal of Roman Studies*, xxvii, 22).—Rudolph Willard (*Speculum*, xii, 147) edits the Latin texts of *The Three Utterances of the Soul*, apocrypha of probably Celtic origin.

MEDIEVAL.—The study of Celtic fictions is greatly facilitated by the publication of Cross and Slover's *Ancient Irish Tales*, a collection more ample and varied than any previous one, including not only the better known myths and tales from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries but also place-name stories and the comic masterpiece, *The Vision of MacConglinne* (one hopes that Rabelais was privileged to enjoy it in some language). The only just complaint against this book is that its introductions and notes ought to have been more copious, because Celtic history and literary methods seem to most students foreign and obscure.—Some of the reasons why Celtic fictions were usually related in prose may be discerned in Kenneth Jackson's *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*.—Sarah Michie (*Speculum*, xii, 304) believes that the so-called "lover's malady" in Irish romance was originally a longing for fairy-women, but was later transferred to human women.

Concerning the Sagas, Einarsson in a review (*MLN.*, lii, 68) makes the significant remarks that there has arisen a "recent school of investigators who look upon the Icelandic sagas as works of art primarily," and that "the art of the Saga is more due to the thirteenth-century writers than to story-tellers of the preceding ages." Those opinions should please Lord Raglan, but it will probably be several years before they are generally acknowledged to be true. Meanwhile we have, as additional evidence for or against that theory, *Four Icelandic Sagas*, well translated by Gwyn Jones; Margaret Schlauch's study of one of the acknowledged *lygisögur* (*MP.*, xxxv, 1), an admirable essay on the treatment of landscape in the sagas (*TLS.*, Aug. 29, 1936), and oddments in Dorothy M. Hoare's *Works of Morris and of Yeats in Relation to Early Saga Literature*.

A destructive criticism of Krüger's *Quellen der Schwanritterdichtungen* is made by Willy Krogmann (*Archiv*, clxxi, 1).—Germaine Dempster points out the sources of the *Merchant's Tale* (*MP.*, xxxiv, 133).—Many medieval travel-fictions are to be found in Sir Percy Dykes' *Quest for Cathay*.—In opposition to Bédier, C. Meredith-Jones, in the introduction to his edition of the *Pseudo-Turpin*, maintains that this legend was written not to forward the cult of St. James, but as propaganda for the crusades in the first quarter of the twelfth century; but H. M. Smyser (*JEGP.*, xxxv, 433) raises doubts to this theory (See also Smyser in *Speculum*, xi, 277).—J. S. P. Tatlock discusses the origin of Estrildis in Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Speculum*, xi, 121).—N. E. Griffin edits a critical text of Guido's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*.—K. W. Cameron discovers very many John de Maundevilles; most of them in records of accusation of crime (*Speculum*, xi, 351), while one or two seem to be strong candidates for the authorship of the famous Travels.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—Among the new works which, although not especially written for students of fiction, are full of new matter illuminating that subject, are Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass: The Elizabethan Mind in Literature*, and M. Channing Linthicum's *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*.—Friederich Brie (*E. Studien*, lxxi, 27) emphasizes the merry and satiric qualities in the writing of More; and Algonon Cecil, in *A Portrait of Thomas More*, from a Roman Catholic standpoint, stresses More's significance as an illustration that English culture is preponderantly a Latin culture rather than a Teutonic. This argument dovetails neatly into that of those critics who maintain that the *Utopia* represents the best state of society

which rational man, unaided by revelation, can imagine.—*Directions for Speech and Style*, by John Hoskins, who used Sidney's *Arcadia* as a model of fine literary art, has been well edited by Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton U. Press).—A good edition of the English *Faust Book* of 1592 is included in Palmer and More's *Sources of the Faust Tradition*, which also contains versions of its forerunners: the legends of Simon Magus, Cyprian of Antioch, and Theophilus of Adana. The *Faustus* is especially welcome because Logeman's text is out of print, and the only available text is a modernized one.—Edwin J. O'Brien's *Elizabethan Tales* contains twenty-five representative stories, including translated as well as original ones; and illustrates the rich variety of fictional styles in that period better than any previous collection.—H. E. Rollins, in "Deloney's Sources for Euphuistic Learning" (*PMLA.*, li, 399) proves borrowings from Batman and Fortescue; and G. W. Kuehn (*MLN.*, lii, 103) supplies new biographical and bibliographical data about that author (cf. *TLS.*, Apr. 11, Dec. 19, 1936).

The author of *The Heptameron* is vividly depicted in Samuel Putnam's *Marguerite of Navarre*. Though some tough-minded historians may hold that the glories of the French Renaissance are here exaggerated, and its darker aspects minimized, none is likely to describe this work, as Putnam describes that of his predecessor, Miss Freer,—“unpleasantly Protestant in bias, Victorianly spinsterish, and based upon none too reliable sources.” Putnam greatly admires Queen Marguerite, and some of her fellow-leaders who, though more or less sincerely faithful to Catholicism, and scorning Calvinism as “the ugliest form of religion and civilization yet known to man,” nevertheless strove to introduce liberal humanism into France. He has tried to understand that period of glaring contrasts, reflected in the *Heptameron*, when with truly human inconsistency men and women seemed to strive with equal ardor towards the gratification of the lusts of the flesh, towards the enlightenment of the mind, and towards the mystic union of the soul with God. Neither in the characterization of the personages, nor in the analyses of the works, has he tried to explain the inexplicable; nor to classify people or books within hard-and-fast categories. What close scrutiny can discover concerning Marguerite's religious and ethical feelings, he sets forth, but without pretending to have fathomed them to their darkest depths. She appears, despite her political and intellectual ambitions, as a devout Catholic, yet a liberal one, whose faith in God and man, at the time when she composed her stories, was tinged with a mild disillusionment, owing to the bitterness of some of her experiences.

Mr. Putnam shows that *The Heptameron* drew largely upon the events in the lives of Marguerite and her acquaintances. Unforgettable in its Renaissance chiaroscuro is his account of the virtuous Marguerite composing the stories aloud (c. 1538-1542) to soothe the restless spirit of her brother, King Francis, a syphilitic libertine, from whom all his mistresses had fled in horror, and whose mind sought in stories of gallantry those gratifications which were now denied to his body. These she provided, borrowing the Boccaccian formula, but applying it to real life, and thus producing "thinly veiled accounts of Francis' own exploits and escapades and those of others well-known at court." She attempted, however, to save her brother's soul, and her own face, by infusing into this hell-broth something of her own Catholic-Platonic spirit. Hence the presence in the tales of herself (as Parlamente) and of her spiritual adviser, the good Bishop Dangu (as Dagoncin). Hence such a notable passage as that in which Parlamente declares:

I call perfect lovers those who seek, in the object of their love, some perfection, whether it be beauty, goodness or pleasing grace, striving ever for virtue, and who are so high and honest of heart that they would not, to save themselves from death fix their minds upon those low things which honor and conscience frown upon; for the soul, which only has been created that it may return to its own sovereign good, so long as it remains within this our body, has but one desire, and that is, to reach its destination.

The presence of such passages may be condemned from an aesthetic point of view, as Putnam admits; but he insists, and (I think) proves, that they are sincere. His interpretations of Marguerite and her work do not contradict those of Ste.-Beuve and Lanson; but his is the first account in English which shows what kind of woman is reflected in *The Heptameron* and which makes her seem alive and credible.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—Koeppel believed that the first complete English translation (1620) of the Decameron was based on Salviati's bowdlerized Italian version; and Edward Hutton, that it was based on Le Maçon's French. Herbert G. Wright (*MLR.*, xxxi, 500) finds that the Englishman used both, not suppressing, as Salviati did, the satire against the clergy, but following him in changing passages "open to criticism on moral grounds." The result was an inaccurate and wordy performance, in some passages "entirely foreign to the spirit of Boccaccio."—Helmut Minkowski, in "Die geistesgeschichtliche und literarische Nachfolge der *Neu-Atlantis*" (*Neophilologus*, xxii, 120, and 185) traces the influence of Bacon's work upon the establishment of academies, and upon

general culture, in England, Germany, and France. Grant McCollley, in "The Pseudonyms of Francis Godwin" (*PQ.*, xvi, 78) shows that the mysterious "E. M." of the introduction to *The World of the Moon* was Godwin himself; and elsewhere (*MP.*, xxxv, 47) that it was written c. 1627-28, ten years before its publication.—J. A. Bourne, in "Some English Translations of Spanish Novels" (*MLR.*, xxxi, 555), identifies the originals of *Diana*, *Duchess of Mantua* (1679), *D. Henriquez de Castro* (1692), and *Novelas Españolas*, 1747.—A. Gonçalves Rodrigues' *The Letters of a Portuguese Nun: History and Criticism of a Literary Fraud* maintains that the letters are fictitious and were composed by a man.—Edward D. Seeber (*PMLA.*, li, 953) demonstrates that *Oroonoko* was remarkably popular in eighteenth-century France and influenced several French novels in that century and the next.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—Kenneth MacLean's *John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* contains some useful contributions with regard to Swift and Sterne, but on the whole seems to have a rather feeble grasp on the metaphysical questions which are involved in such an inquiry (for a detailed analysis of its weaknesses, see *PQ.*, xvi, 180).

Archibald B. Shepperson's *Novel in Motley: a History of the Burlesque Novel in English* has a promising subject, which might have been made both entertaining and instructive, but which is treated in a way that disappoints one's expectations. In recent years we have had numerous illustrations of how the history of a fictional genre should be composed, particularly from German scholars; and surely no properly trained student would suppose, as Shepperson apparently assumes, that one can write a "history" of a genre without giving a clear and exact idea of the differentia of that genre, or without tracing the causal interrelationships between the various works and their backgrounds. All that we have here is a descriptive account, accompanied with rather obvious comments, of burlesque novels, the important ones among them having been described sufficiently already. Shepperson is aware that parody is a branch of criticism; but if one asks just what special contributions to the history of fictional criticism were made by the genre, one will find in his work only vague replies. "It was," he says, "by far the most effective criticism"; but how so, or why so, we are not told. There are amateurish blunders, such as a reference to a well-known French scholar as "Mr. Digeon"; and the style, meant to be pleasant, is at times exasperating,—e. g.: "Pamela is pretty and vivacious, and withal demure, religious, and honest,

which is to say, virtuous, and that is to say, chaste." There is some new information concerning parodies in periodicals (pp. 34-35).

Of superior value, despite imperfections, is the late B. Sprague Allen's *Tides in English Taste (1619-1800): A Background for the Study of Literature*, two finely illustrated volumes. In preparation during many years of study and travel, this work is animated by the conviction that the true history of any period, or of any artistic activity in any period, cannot be understood by an exclusive consideration of a single art. Allen's purpose was to trace those changes of taste in other arts which coincided with changes in literary taste, and sometimes influenced the latter. Of painting and sculpture he said little, their development being well known. He concentrated upon architecture, landscape-gardening, and furniture-design; and discovered in the changing popularity of various styles in those arts innumerable parallels to the rise and wane of literary vogues. He perceived the perplexingly entangled nature of this relationship, did not try to make human history more logical than it actually is, and he avoided rigidly schematic classifications. The passages in which he traced divergences between the different arts are among the best in his volumes (e. g. II, 230 ff., where he admits that although after 1760 literature became more and more romantic, the other arts met resistance in a "revitalized classicism"). Nevertheless he discerned in the history of the various arts from period to period a general similarity of nature and of development. In expounding those concurrent movements he emphasized what to him seemed two neglected truths: (1) classical architecture, gardening, literature, etc., were satirically attacked even in those decades in which they are supposed to have been universally dominant, and (2) a much more important solvent of classicism, and precursor of romanticism than is usually recognized was Oriental art, especially the Chinese,—its drawings, screens, potteries, gardens, pagodas, etc.

Although Allen's first researches in literature were mainly in the field of prose fiction, other literary genres are more frequently referred to in his *magnum opus*. His familiarity with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prose fictions results, however, in a number of valuable observations on various topics in that field,—e. g. the classical town-planning in Berington's *Gaudentio di Lucca*; and the instinctively classical dislike of Defoe, Atterbury, and Richardson for Orientalism, especially for such essentially romantic manifestations as the *Arabian Nights*. How Atterbury could sense the romantic spirit of the *Arabian Nights* in the prosaic English trans-

lation of the 1710's may seem strange; but he says that to him the *Nights* were as inartistic as "the odd paintings on Indian screens." Defoe refused to join in the growing admiration for the Chinese people and Chinese art, and Richardson ridiculed what seemed to him the unjustifiable mania for collecting Chinese porcelain. Allen knew that most of the writers of so-called oriental tales and imitations were ignorant of genuinely oriental spirit and atmosphere; but he showed that many pre-romantics were at least groping towards an understanding of it,—among them Percy, Walpole, Beckford, and Charles Wilkins (translator of the *Hitopadesa*, 1787). The natural affinity between anti-classical literature and anti-classical art is perhaps best exemplified in the charming illustration of a lady's fan, upon which there are pictured scenes from *A Sentimental Journey*, drawn with an emotional freedom in harmony with the abandon of the story.

It is true (as, with characteristic condescension, was stated in the leading article of *TLS.*, July 17, 1937) that Allen in his desire to stress the importance of studying the arts comparatively, sometimes reiterated the obvious, and therefore may seem to sophisticated Europeans "naive" in some of his comments. But the fact remains that none of the British has done what he accomplished. Granting that his collection of historical data is better than his critical interpretation of them, his life-work remains an admirable achievement. Its most serious imperfections are owing to the fact that important works in his field were not published before his fatal illness. He was apparently unable to use a study which bore very closely upon his subject, W. H. Smith's *Architecture in English Fiction*,² wherein there are cited a dozen fictions not mentioned by him.

John Steegman's *Rule of Taste: From George I to George IV* makes no pretense to be more than a pleasing account for the general reader. At the other extreme is Bernard Fehr's speculative and abstruse discussion, "The Antagonism of Forms in the Eighteenth Century" (*E. Studies*, xviii, 115 and 193) where the interrelationship of the arts is philosophized about in a manner which some will find profound, but which R. S. Crane (*PQ.*, xvi, 160) scorns as merely "metaphorical and neo-platonic."

Herman Teerink's *Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Jonathan Swift* is regarded by Harold Williams (*RES.*, July, 1937) as better than any work of the kind hitherto available, but as ill-arranged and to be used with caution. He supplies corrections, and others are to be found in *TLS.*, Mch. 20, 1937.—

² Cf. my review, *MLN.*, li, 254.

Inquisition into the mystery of Swift's marriage to Stella continues unabated, in Maxwell B. Gold's treatise on that subject, in Bertram Newman's *Jonathan Swift*, and elsewhere; but no conclusive verdict is reached. There is a marked inclination to believe that the marriage took place but was not consummated; yet T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick (*TLS.*, June 19, 1937) presents forceful reasons why Swift and the Bishop of Clogher would not have engaged in so flagrant a violation of the ecclesiastical canons.—In the interpretation of Swift's works there has been substantial progress. Canon C. Looten's *La Pensée Religieuse de Swift* is, to be sure, reactionary in tendency, and illustrates how difficult it is for a Catholic to understand one who, as Quintana says, was not a High Churchman but "a Tory devoted to the Church," and therefore apt to displease both those who wanted the Church to dominate the State, and those who wanted the State to dominate the Church. Both M. A. Korn's *Weltanschauung Jonathan Swifts* (which includes a useful history of the controversies about Swift), and Ricardo Quintana's admirable *Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift* move away from the old-fashioned concept of him as utterly misanthropic and irreligious, and recognize that he regarded man as *animal rationis capax*,—*capax*, however, not by ritual ceremonies alone, but also by increase of knowledge and steadier use of intelligence. Lilli Handro's *Gulliver's Travels im Zusammenhang mit geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen* is written in a repulsively involved style, but independently arrives at the same conclusion: "Swift's Satire geht von keinem blasphemischen Gedanken aus; ihre Spitze ist nicht gegen die Religion, sondern gegen ihre Vertreter und Anhänger gerichtet." She contributes a valuable analysis of the relation of Swift's thought to Berkeley and other English philosophers.

A charmingly written biography is James Sutherland's *Defoe*, but it is inclined to be too lenient in its judgment of his character. A corrective is found in T. F. M. Newton's "Civet-Cats of Newington Green" (*RES.*, xiii, 10), a thoroughly documented exposure of one of his many crooked dealings. The Germans, who apparently expect Englishmen to be entirely logical and consistent, although no such race of human beings is found elsewhere, are perturbed by the contrast between Defoe's high-minded thoughts and mean deeds; also by contradictions in his utterances. Ulrich tried to overcome the difficulty by declaring the accusations against Defoe to be false; others declared that his pious utterances were insincere. Rudolf Stamm's *Der aufgeklärte Puritanismus Daniel Defoes* rejects those facile explanations, and seeks to prove that

Defoe, educated as a Puritan, became a devotee of the Enlightenment, with the result that sometimes he spoke and acted as the former, and at other times as the latter. If there is a visitation of the plague, have faith in God, and do nothing; but, on second thoughts, find the scientific way out, help yourself, and God will help you! Whatever one may think of Stamm's theory, he renders a useful service by his exposition of Defoe's opinions on such topics as politics, religion, ethics, economics, art, etc. (Cf. his essay in *PQ.*, xv, 225).

The most learned of the recent monographs on the eighteenth-century novelists is A. D. McKillop's *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist*. It is based upon a closer scrutiny of the manuscript collections than had previously been made, and fortified by exceptionally wide knowledge of the literature of the period. The quotations from periodicals and cyclopedias are illuminating (e. g., the estimate of Richardson in the *New and General Biographical Dictionary* in 1762). The chapter "Reputation and Influence" covers everything of importance in English and continental criticism, and furnishes the best brief survey of fiction from 1750-1800 that can be found. The literary importance of the third and fourth books of *Pamela* is revealed for the first time. Throughout, the judgment is as sound as the information; typical of its sanity is the passage: "Diffidence, naïve vanity, and artistic subtlety were strangely mingled in Richardson's career with the unshakable steadfastness and sobriety of the tradesman." William M. Sale has compiled *Samuel Richardson: a Bibliographical Record* (cf. his data about *Clarissa* in *The Library*, xvi, 448); and F. G. Black describes three continuations of *Pamela* (*R.A.A.*, xiii, 499). Paul Dottin weighs the advantages and limitations of the epistolary method (*R.A.A.*, xiii, 481).

George Sherburn gives a discerning appreciation of Fielding's *Amelia* (*ELH.*, iii, 1), and Mrs. Esdaile an account of S. C. Stanley, Fielding's Danish translator (*TLS.*, Apr. 3, 1937).

Eugène Joliat's *Smollett et la France* is more than a history of that author's rather unfavorable reception there. It is an important contribution to the study of picaresque fiction, tracing Smollett's indebtedness to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century satirical and roguish fictions, and displaying fine critical percipience in comparing Smollett's works with those of Sorel, Scarron, Furetière, and especially Le Sage. The author, a French Canadian, trained at McGill, is equally appreciative of the subtler qualities of English and of French literary atmosphere and style. One hopes for more studies of this type from him and his fellow-Canadians.

Henri Fluchère's "Sterne Epistolier" (*RAA.*, xiii, 297) is not merely a review of Curtis' edition of the Letters, but an original essay on Sterne's character as therein manifested.—Theodore Baird (*PMLA.*, li, 803) proves that Rapin and Tindall were Sterne's authorities for the historical background of *Tristram Shandy*, and he examines in detail the time-scheme, finding it astonishingly consistent and free from all but a few minor slips.—Gertrude J. Hallamore's *Das Bild Laurence Sternes in Deutschland* shows that the rationalistic critics preferred *Tristram Shandy* to *The Sentimental Journey* because they thought there was in it more of the higher comic spirit; that the classicists, e. g. Goethe, recognized his uniqueness but would not imitate him; and that he had to await the romantic period (not here studied) before being deeply understood and appreciated.

Rudolf Maack's *Laurence Sterne im Lichte seiner Zeit* is a learned work, citing copiously chapter and verse in support of its arguments; but it is likewise philosophical, and perhaps some will condemn it as speculative if not as "neo-Platonic." It is courageous, attempting to recapture some intangible qualities of Sterne's time the presence of which may now and then be felt but the fixation of which is exceedingly difficult. To Maack, Sterne is not the exceptional figure that he seems to be when compared only with Richardson, Fielding, Johnson, or even with Mackensie and Burns. In his view, the most significant feature of that period was not that attitudes towards life were changing, but that in several fields of art men were, more or less blindly, groping for *methods of expressing* the new attitudes. To establish this point he turns aside from the beaten tracks of literary history and shows that a revolt against clear, direct, and obvious methods of communicating feelings was going on in the fields of acting (very interesting similarities between Garrick's styles and Sterne's), opera, dancing, etc. Sterne's views not of literature only, but also of painting, music, the ballet, and other arts are analyzed; and parallels between the new trends in those domains and his own methods are suggested.

Christopher Lloyd's *Fanny Burney* is a good biography, but does not pretend to make substantial contributions towards the criticism or history of her literary works. Why Mme. D'Arblay was an "intermédiaire manquée" between England and France, despite her marriage to a Frenchman and long residence in his country, is set forth by Eugénie Delachaux (*RLC.*, xv, 381).

H. H. Clark's American Fiction Series presents two eighteenth-century American novels, Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (ed.

C. M. Newlin) and Brown's *Ormond* (ed. E. Marchand), textually reliable, and very well edited. G. H. Orians sketching the history of the criticism of fiction from 1789-1810 (*PMLA.*, lii, 195) shows what a poor press the American authors of such "chimerical works" had in those days.

Bernard Fehr, at Zurich, and Otto Funke, at Berne, have stimulated a lively interest in the history of fictional techniques, the latest fruit of which is Willi Bühler's *Die Erlebte Rede im Englischen Roman*. By the term "erlebte Rede" is meant soliloquy, or the self-communing, of a character without any intrusion of the author. It is a useful device for the realistic novel. Bühler seeks for traces of it in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century novel, and finds a few, probably accidental, anticipations of it in Mrs. Behn, Defoe, and Richardson; but it appears not to have been deliberately employed with artistic skill by any one before Jane Austen, to whom the main portion of this monograph is devoted. Studies like this, of the history of technical devices, are much needed in the earlier periods.

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REVIEWS

Gentlefolk in the Making. Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774.

By JOHN E. MASON. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1935. Pp. xiv + 393. \$4.00.

The Complete Letter-Writer in English, 1568-1800. By KATHERINE GEE HORNBEAK. Northampton: Smith College, 1934. Pp. xii + 150. Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, xv, Nos. 3-4.

For years students of English literature have recognized the want of a comprehensive work dealing with the literature of courtesy. A few scattered contributions have been made in English: the Introduction to Bülbring's edition of Defoe's *Compleat English Gentleman* (1890), the Introduction to Raleigh's edition of Hoby's translation of *Il Cortegiano* (1900), various—though not many—articles in the scholarly journals; and Miss Ruth Kelso's admirable treatment of Renaissance courtesy in *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century* (1929). But no one had

reviewed systematically the literature of the subject in England. The want has been increasingly felt as students have come to acknowledge the importance of such writings as background for the life and thought of past centuries.

It is this want that Mr. Mason has set out to supply. The title, "Gentlefolk in the Making," smacking strongly of social history, is arresting but less accurately descriptive than the subtitle, "Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature." The author, after a thoughtful preliminary chapter on Types and Tendencies in Courtesy Literature before 1531, in which he shows admirable familiarity with the classical and medieval background, takes us, chronologically, book by book, from Elyot's *Boke of the Governour* through James's *Basilikon Doron*, and thence, combining chronology with type, through the many works of parental advice, polite conduct, education, "policy" (the courtier's art), and civility, of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century. The result is an admirable handbook or work of reference (unfortunately minus a bibliography, which is promised in a later volume), where one may find digests of all of the well-known writings on courtesy and polite conduct of the period, as well as of a great many slightly-known and relatively unknown works besides, together with some discussion of relations between them.

The surprising thing, to most students, will be the mass of material available. Few persons have had any inkling what a stupendous number of works on courtesy and conduct were produced in the three centuries under consideration. And although some additional seventeenth- and eighteenth-century titles could be supplied, Mr. Mason has caught a vast preponderance of the works which should have been fish to his net. He has confined himself almost entirely to works aimed primarily at inculcating doctrines of aristocratic ideals and polite behavior. He has not gone, to any great extent, to the dramatists and poets and essayists for sidelights. By the same token, he has not attempted to assess *practice* as against *ideals*. Indeed, his aim is to spread before the student the many writings on the subject, apportioning space with an eye to the importance of a given work, but in each case supplying a pretty full analysis of the contents of each, with some comment upon it.

It is here, indeed, that Mr. Mason's book exhibits its limitation (aside from occasional lapses; four lines devoted to Spenser, for instance, seem strangely inadequate). The preliminary chapter on Types and Tendencies gives promise of more synthetic thought than the rest of the book reveals. From that chapter on, it is little more than a collection of critical analyses of individual works—useful for reference mainly, and from the fact that many of these books are rare and hard to come by. We are therefore indebted to Mr. Mason for reading them with care and reporting

their contents. He has made us conscious of a vast field of writing of which most scholars were scarcely aware. But one regrets that the book, admirable in its careful scholarship, lacks constructive thought about changing ideals of conduct or a synthetic picture of what various ages conceived as their ideal.

Miss Hornbeak's problem was twofold: to show the background of Richardson's *Familiar Letters*, and to present as full a bibliography as possible of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century manuals of letter-writing. Starting with William Fulwood's *The Enimie of Idlenesse* (1568), she proposes to show that

the earliest English letter-writers are purely derivative, translations or imitations of the Latin formularies, with some indebtedness to Italian and French sources. With Nicholas Breton's letter-writer, *A Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters*, a Spanish strain, seemingly rising from Guevara, appears. By the middle of the seventeenth century, French preciosity of the 'conzett-confetti' sort is rampant through English translations of French handbooks. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century English common sense asserts itself, and there emerges at last a native, indigenous, homespun letter-writer, in which the English novel is firmly rooted.

This development Miss Hornbeak traces in detail. The investigation of Richardson's background is valuable. Unfortunately, considerations of space prevented a similarly full account of Richardson's work itself. But enough is said to show where Richardson may have got many of the ideas, as well as the bourgeois tone, characteristic of the *Familiar Letters*.

The bibliography of letter-writers from 1568 to 1800 is exceptionally full, though it would be more usable if the Index enabled one to trace *all* works (not merely those mentioned in the text) through their various editions.¹ Some titles, it is true, are only "ghosts" from the Term Catalogues and other lists; but Miss Hornbeak has actually seen a surprising number of letter-writers from all periods. A few exceptions may be noted. Had Miss Hornbeak known a certain work of 1635, she would almost certainly have altered the date in Chapter II, "Préciosité and the English Letter-Writer, 1640-1840;" for the statement that "Balzac begat de la Serre. La Serre begat *Le Secrétaire de la cour* and *Le Secrétaire à la mode*, which in turn begat *The Secretary in Fashion* [1640], *The Academy of Complements* [1640], and other translations and imitations almost without number," may be emended to include *The Mirroir of Complements* (1635). This, rather than *The Academy of Complements*, seems to be, in Miss Hornbeak's words, "the first fruits of La Serre in England." Besides set

¹ *Wits Labyrinth*, by J. S. (1648)—a phrase-book (not a letter-writer, but related to it) containing "complementall expressions" for writers and speakers; *The Academy of Pleasure* (1665)—model letters, dialogues, etc.; *The Art of Courtship . . . Elegant Epistles* (1672); and *Wit a-la mode . . . how to superscribe and begin letters to persons of all ranks* (1775) might well have been included.

speeches "To offer service to a King," and the like, and dialogues such as "To salute a Gentlewoman with an intention of marriage, and to offer her his service," the volume contains "Complementall letters of sundry natures to persons of severall qualities, with their answers," as well as such model epistles as "A letter of acknowledgement," "To a sicke friend," etc. It is, in a word, both phrase-book, and letter-writer.² One important seventeenth-century letter-writer—Henry Care's *The Female Secretary* (1671), which Miss Hornbeak apparently knows only from the Term Catalogues, but which is in the Huntington Library—illustrates various things to which she could not assign an earlier date than 1687, when *The Young Secretary's Guide* appeared. Care's letters—more natural and genuine-sounding than most model letters in seventeenth-century letter-writers—are admittedly for bourgeois folk: "'Tis enough if he [the author] can order affairs so, as the waiting Gentlewoman may henceforwards be converted from her Idolatrous poring on the Academy, and the Chambermaid not suffer a *Non-plus*, when the Chaplain assaults her with his Rhetoricating Epistle."

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Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century. By ETHEL SEATON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. xvi + 384. \$5.00.

This volume is the fourth of *The Oxford Studies in Modern Languages and Literature* published under the editorship of Professor H. G. Fiedler, Taylor Professor of German at Oxford. The author, Fellow and Tutor of English Literature at St. Hugh's College, has already made an important contribution to the history of English-Scandinavian relationships in her *Queen Elizabeth and a Swedish Princess*, a skillfully edited printing of James Bell's contemporary account of the visit of Princess Cecilia, daughter of Gustavus Vasa, to the English Court. The present volume is a continuation and extension of the research auspiciously there begun. It proves to be a thorough, amply documented study of every possible aspect of the intellectual commerce between England and Scandinavia during the seventeenth century.

² The Huntington Library has what appears to be an earlier edition (perhaps 1634, when *The Mirrour of Complements* was first entered), without title-page, but with caption and running title "The Mirrour of Complements,"—a work which contains all the set speeches before the "Complementall letters," but none of the 35 or 40 pages of letters of the edition of 1635, which would seem to be a redaction of the Huntington *Mirrour*.

The essence of the book is a description of the processes by which the ignorance and picturesque misinformation about Scandinavia prevalent in England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign became superseded by an eighteenth century acquaintance with the life and literature of the North which enabled "at least one group of Englishmen . . . to travel through the region of Old Norse myth and saga in the footsteps of their northern contemporaries." The author examines first the news which adventurous explorers of the North and then the various traders, such as the whaler, the falconer, the dealers in copper and timber, etc., brought back to the quays and shops of London. She then shows how the political ties, particularly between England and Denmark, deepened diplomatic channels through which friendliness between the courts was promoted and communication between the learned was facilitated. Students from Scandinavia, attracted by the treasures of the Bodleian Library and later by the fame of the Royal Society, kept fresh England's knowledge of contemporary movements of thought, particularly in Denmark and Sweden, and carried home information about English life and letters. Finally the antiquarians on both sides of the water enriched the intellectual intercourse by their study of myth and historical fact and their interest in those forms of popular superstition from time immemorial associated with the North. All of these subjects Miss Seaton treats with learning and literary skill. Her work is not only vastly informative, but also uniformly entertaining.

Some doubts exist in the mind of this reviewer whether the book can in any real sense be regarded as a study of literary relations. Sir William Craigie in his lectures on *The Northern Element in English Literature* delivered at the University of Toronto in 1931 said, "To look for northern traits in English literature prior to the eighteenth century might almost be set down as a forlorn quest." This, the widely accepted opinion, has not been appreciably corrected by Miss Seaton's researches. She deals entirely with the intellectual materials of various sorts from which works of literature are composed. For example, she examines store-houses filled with magic, witchcraft, and folk-lore, as well as with natural wonders, which the North offered to English writers. She accumulates the knowledge of science, of social life, and of individual character which flowed between England and Scandinavia. Very seldom does she fail to follow her clues to their logical end or to present everything of importance in her purview. However, at least once she passes by a source of information which might yield important results. In reviewing John Craig's letters to Tycho Brahe, she ignores those passages which are "chiefly on astronomy," yet we have recently learned that the new astronomical ideas liberated in England during the sixteenth century, particularly that of an infinite universe, were of enormous importance to literature. The activities of the recently reconstructed School of Night, for example,

apparently exerted a profound influence upon the thought and imagination of Raleigh, Marlowe, and Chapman. Any new information about the state of astronomical knowledge in England, particularly if it concerns Tycho Brahe, would now be eagerly read by all students of the sixteenth century. John Craig's omitted views on astronomy are thus of much greater significance than his printed reference to the English visit of a learned Dane, named Petrus Paysen. But such errors of critical judgment rarely appear in Miss Seaton's work.

The fact remains, however, that this book concerns literature only in that it deals with such reminiscences of the North as might persist in the mind of a writer who had obtained the proper information through books or by word of mouth. The author makes no effort to discover the intellectual qualities peculiar to Scandinavians or to analyze their distinctive attitude toward such favorite subjects as witchcraft, sea-faring, or war. Consequently she does not consider the influence which these men of the North had upon the literary forms or the spirit of English writers. To be sure, the facts which Miss Seaton presents show that the intellectual contacts between English and the Scandinavians were many and important, while the actual literary influences were few and negligible. Yet one could wish that her keen powers of analysis had been applied to explanation of the curious fact that the ample materials which she has collected had no formative effect even upon the few English authors whose works casually reveal some information about the life, lore, and letters of Scandinavia.

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

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Spenser's Theory of Friendship. By CHARLES G. SMITH. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935. Pp. viii + 74. \$1.25.

Two Centuries of Spenserian Scholarship. By JEWEL WURTSBAUGH. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. Pp. xii + 174. \$2.25.

In *Spenser's Theory of Friendship* Professor Smith does a service by collecting four fugitive articles and supplementing them with a note on the influence of Alain de l'Isle on the Fourth Book of *The Faerie Queene*. Though the chapters are not integrated, they justify the author's modest claim that his "study breaks new ground." Beginning with a comparison of Spenser's Concord, the "Mother of Blessed Peace," to her counterparts in several sixteenth-century masques, chapter two goes on to relate her allegory to kindred conceptions of Gascoigne and Holinshed and of several other poets and some "politicians" both English and continental. The

fourth paper interprets the false Florimel as a Platonic myth proving that "Friendship is Based on Virtue" (p. 27), and so relates her to the allegory studied in the third chapter, where that principle ranks first in a discussion of seven traditional maxims which are represented as organic in *The Legend of Friendship*.

No one is likely to challenge Mr. Smith's "endeavor in the first chapter to show that . . . in the Fourth Book Spenser conceived of Friendship as the operation in the world of man of a principle of cosmic love," (p. 1), but I demur when he adds that this principle was "based on Lucretius' Hymn to Venus." To corroborate his cosmic interpretation, he compares the allegory of the Fourth Book to that in *Mutabilitie*, suggesting that the resemblance is close enough to indicate a close sequence of one upon the other. Then, relating the paraphrase of Lucretius' Hymn in Spenser's tenth canto to the "Lucretian" elements in *Mutabilitie*, he observes that "there seems to be nothing distinctively Christian in Book Four" (p. 12). Meanwhile, ignoring the Christian cast of the Neo-Platonism in *Fowre Hymnes*, he has identified the allegory of Concord with their "conception of love as a harmonizing and unifying force" (p. 5). But there is no less weight in the Christianity of the *Hymnes* than there is in the "Lucretianism" of *Mutabilitie*. Indeed, the more analogies from Renaissance literature are brought to bear, the more Christian the allegory of Book Four appears. "The conception of law in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* as the bond that binds the whole creation to God," says Professor Smith, "is essentially Spenser's conception of Concord" (p. 22). None of his other parallels is so damaging as this to his contention that there is nothing Christian in Book Four, but his evidence shows that Spenser's thought was an integral part of the Christianized Neo-Platonism which stemmed from Ficino and Pico della Mirandola.

Professor Greenlaw once compared¹ the theory of ultimate reality in *The Faerie Queene* to Giordano Bruno's, though he failed to understand that—as M. Charbonnel and Sig. Gentile have since shown²—both the ethics and the metaphysics of Bruno were thoroughly Plotinian. The moot question of Bruno's influence need not enter here. What should be recognized is the fact that his unconventional treatment of Venus in *Lo Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante*,³ where Sofia quotes her invocation by Lucretius in the hymn which Spenser translated, is Neo-Platonic rather than Epicurean. Her rôle as patroness of Spenser's virtue of friendship is essenti-

¹ *SP.*, xvii, 340.

² In *L'Éthique de Bruno et le deuxième dialogue du Spaccio*, Paris, 1919, J. Roger Charbonnel proves Bruno's ethics Plotinian through and through. Giovanni Gentile, in *Giordano Bruno e il Pensiero del Rinascimento*, Florence, 1925, pp. 223-4, argues that Bruno's *minimi* were Neo-Platonic rather than Lucretian.

³ *Opere Italiane*, ed. Gentile, Bari, 1927, II, 34-7. Although Mr. Smith quotes Bruno in another connection, he does not mention *Lo Spaccio*.

ally like her rôle in *Lo Spaccio*.⁴ There she lays claim to the seat in the skies from which the Heavenly Twins have been driven, in order to seat *Amicizia*, *Amore* and *Pace* in their place.

Although its treatment of the *View* is sketchy, Miss Wurtsbaugh's first chapter is an admirable survey of the ground covered by Mr. Francis R. Johnson's record of the editorial tradition of the poetry down to the folio of 1679, and beyond to the appearance of Hughes's edition. Her main interest, however, is in the critical "drift" in which her final paragraph names Jortin, Upton, Warton, and Todd as the chief sea-marks. "The deeper significance of this study," she says, "is the discovery that the commentators were painfully and laboriously struggling towards 'the truth that sets men free.'" Yet her readers may doubt whether the eighteenth-century scholars were enlightened explorers or wayward pioneers in a forest to which they never found the clue. She is a shrewd judge of the merits of the great editors and commentators. Only in Upton's case does she seem to me to err from lack of insight. Though he gets generous credit for having recognized that *The Faerie Queene* was an historical allegory and for making "the first important study of it as such," he is too severely condemned for his "classical bias and argumentative skill" (p. 80). A modern student should deal respectfully with the "classical bias" of an editor whose knowledge was never at fault even among writers as obscure as Valerius Flaccus, who—poor fellow—suffers fission (p. 56) into two authors by an error of Miss Wurtsbaugh's printer. Upton's bias made him no less alert than his contemporaries to all the newly discovered interests in Spenser. Like Hurd and Warton—and before them both, as Miss Wurtsbaugh observes (p. 80)—he was "not wholly indifferent to the likeness between the 'extensive and complicated story of *The Faerie Queene*' and 'some ancient and magnificent pile of Gothic architecture.'"

The Gothic pile might be taken as the emblem of eighteenth-century Spenserian study, with its ramifications into source-hunting among the romances and its curiosity about the backgrounds of chronicle history and of the masques and pageants. The mid-century effort to improve the text is interesting mainly because it rehabilitated the archaic language which seventeenth-century editors had more or less "modernized." Critical discussion centered on the question of unity in *The Faerie Queene* and reached the extreme opposite to Upton's position when Warton averred that the poem "has no plan!" and then rushed on, as if from Gothic formlessness it followed as the night the day, to assert that the poem was "the careless exuberance of a warm imagination and strong sensibility." In that mistake, although Miss Wurtsbaugh makes Todd the "bridge" (p. 157) between the Augustans and the Romantics, it is perhaps justifiable to see a door opening upon the impressionistic

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

excesses of the nineteenth century and the recalcitrance of some twentieth-century criticism to recognition of any serious design in *The Faerie Queene*.

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Speculum Sacerdotale, edited from British Museum Ms. Additional 36791. By EDWARD H. WEATHERLY. London, 1936. Early English Text Society, No. 200.

Unless I am mistaken, Dr. Weatherly's edition of the anonymous *Speculum Sacerdotale* is the first edition of a Middle English manuscript to be published as a direct result of the stimulation to the study of medieval English sermons afforded by Owst's two volumes concerning them. The *Speculum*, a prose work, is very similar to the *Festial*, the well-known aid to preachers provided by John Mirk. It contains materials for an extensive series of sermons *de sanctis* and *de tempore*. The author's purpose is generally to explain ecclesiastical usage by exposition and illustrative narrative rather than to exhort sinners. At one point he turns aside from his purpose of giving instructions for sermons and inserts a penitential, just as Mirk in ch. 29 (ed. Erbe) of the *Festial* stops sermonizing long enough to tell untutored priests how they should answer certain questions which their parishioners might put. Like the *Festial*, the *Speculum*, as I have intimated, emphasizes the narrative element in sermons; and again like the *Festial*, it was apparently composed in the West Midlands early in the fifteenth century. (One wonders whether both of these works must have been compiled before the Arundel Constitutions imposed severe restrictions on English preaching in 1409.) And yet in spite of the many resemblances between the *Speculum* and the *Festial*, there seems to be no evidence that either author knew of the work of the other (see Dr. Weatherly's introduction, p. xlv).

It is difficult to say how nearly these printed items approximate what preachers using the *Speculum* actually said. Every form of medieval sermon with which I am acquainted made use of a Biblical passage as a point of departure. This fact is as true of sermons based on saints' festivals as of any other. The unpublished treatise on sermon form ascribed by Th. Charland to John of Wales ("A Brief *Forma Predicandi*," *MP.*, xxxiv, 338), for instance, says (Ms. Maz. 569, f. 85v), "Post hec de sermonibus festiualibus sunt & aliqua documenta. Primum est ut queratur thema in nouo [uel] in veteri testamento quod sit proprium sollempnitati." But the *Speculum*, again like the *Festial*, never suggests a theme for the preachers to use. Further, the treatises on sermon form edited

by H. Caplan (*Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans*, N. Y., 1925, pp. 61 ff.) and by A. de Poorter (*Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie*, xxv, 192 ff.), and that wrongly included among the works of Bonaventura in the Quaracchi edition (ix, 16 ff.), describe in considerable detail the methods which preachers may use in expanding the fundamental information to be presented in their sermons. The *Speculum* makes no considerable use of these methods. In his *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Owst emphasizes the absorption of the preachers with the events and scenes of the life about them (see particularly chs. 5-7). But the *Speculum* gives no evidence of such absorption. Is not the *Speculum*, then, composed of materials which a preacher was expected to appropriate and expand more or less, according to his ability or his industry or the importance of the occasion upon which he was to preach, rather than of actual sermons? (See also Dr. Weatherly's introduction, p. xxxix.)

I have referred above to manuals on sermon form. The *Speculum* is not one of these. They explain how the preacher should handle his material; the *Speculum* presents the material and says nothing about the form. As a reservoir of facts to be used by preachers it is a valuable document.

Dr. Weatherly has performed his editorial task excellently. The explanatory notes are precise and illuminating; their diversity indicates the thoroughness with which the editor has explored the background of his material. I have read at random a number of pages of the text against a photostat of the manuscript and have found the text accurate and intelligently transcribed. The most striking feature of the introduction is the completeness with which the sources drawn upon by the unknown author are identified. In his description of the sources, however, and in the other portions of the introduction, the editor has wisely refrained from burdening the reader with masses of details and has presented his facts in a lucid and readable fashion.

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The Clubs of Augustan London. By ROBERT J. ALLEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. xii + 306. \$3.00. (Harvard Studies in English, vii.)

This is a scholarly and trustworthy guide to a subject which has long been in need of systematic treatment. All students of the period know something of the clubs and wish to know more; Dr. Allen enables them to piece out the account by giving them practically all the available evidence. The resulting view of the subject is of course not entirely complete and coherent; a club is an

elusive entity, hard to describe and harder to follow through politics, society, and literature. "Many societies," remarks the author, "defy all attempts to trace their history." Too rigid an organization and too definite a purpose destroyed "clubability"; even when clubs served the ends of hot political faction, principle was subordinated to personality. The true club was an informal group which kept no records and was likely to be known only by the casual references of its members or the untrustworthy utterances of its foes. Hence the difficulty of distinguishing between good evidence and fictitious or exaggerated reports: Allen shows, for example, how political prejudice colored the accounts of the Whig Calves Head Club and the Tory October Club, he discriminates between truth and falsehood in contemporary reports about the Mohocks, and he warns the unwary against a literal acceptance of Ned Ward's *Satyrical Reflections on Clubs*. The fluidity and informality of the club likewise make it difficult to trace the effects of a given group on politics and literature. The exclusiveness of a coterie might obscure the evidence, as with the Saturday Club and the Brothers, the Tory groups of which we hear from Swift. When a really important group like the Scriblerus Club forces itself on our attention, we are caught in an intricate web of biographical and bibliographical problems. Dr. Allen is candid in recognizing these difficulties, and does not do violence to his subject by forcing the evidence in an effort to overcome them. The purely fictitious clubs, including those that figure so largely in the essay periodicals, are more manageable, and the history of this device is here fully and clearly worked out.

Haphazard additions to this well ordered collection of material would be of little worth and would not materially change the conclusions. Because of the importance of the group at Will's, however, some passages in the collection called *A Pacquet from Will's* (1701) should be noted, especially the references to "the Rabble or Witty Club, and the Grave Club" (pp. 49, 56; cf. Allen, p. 31). The *Letters of Wit, Politicks and Morality* (1701) collected by Abel Boyer contains what is said to be a French traveler's account of certain clubs (pp. 215-24). The company at Will's is divided into two groups—"the Wits, justly so call'd, and . . . the Would be-Wits." Of the Knights of the Toast we are told that their "number is never to exceed Thirteen"; of the Kit-Cat Club, that their "number is about 36, but yet unlimited."

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

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Germanische Philologie. Ergebnisse und Aufgaben. Festschrift für Otto Behaghel. Hgg. von A. GÖTZE, W. HORN, F. MAURER (Germ. Bibl. 1. Abt. 1. Reihe 19). Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1934. Pp. viii, 576. RM. 20.

Es war ein glücklicher Gedanke der Herausgeber, in der Festschrift zu Behaghels 80. Geburtstag statt loser Beiträge gleichsam einen Querschnitt durch den heutigen Stand germanischer Forschung zu ziehen, wie das zehn Jahre vorher in der Streitberg-Festschrift ganz ähnlich für die Sprachwissenschaft geschehen war. Und zugleich gibt es kaum ein beredteres Zeugnis für die Grösse des nunmehr toten Meisters unserer Wissenschaft als dieses Werk, dessen unerschöpflichem Reichtum eine kurze Anzeige schwerlich gerecht zu werden vermag. Dazu kommt, dass es bei dem grossen Kreise von Schülern und Freunden des Gefeierten ein Leichtes war, für die einzelnen Gebiete Bearbeiter zu finden, die sich nicht mit einem bibliographischen Bericht nur zufrieden gaben.

So enthält schon der erste Aufsatz von K. Wagner über Phonetik, Rhythmik, Metrik neben der Kritik von Neuerscheinungen zugleich einen Versuch, die Lage der heutigen Forschung auf diesem Felde zu kennzeichnen und zu begründen; sie leidet unter der allgemeinen Gewichtsverlagerung vom Studium der Form und ihrer Teile auf Inhalt und Funktion der grösseren Einheiten wie Wort und Satz; zumal gegen die experimentelle Phonetik ist man in Deutschland heute so misstrauisch geworden, dass sie sich nach Wien, Prag und in die Vereinigten Staaten geflüchtet hat.

Ebenso anziehend sind die Ausführungen über Altgermanische Verskunst von H. Kuhn, der insbesondere den verschiedenen Standpunkt von Heusler und Sievers scharfsinnig auseinandersetzt. Dagegen hat H. Arntz sein allerdings besonders schwieriges Kapitel Urgermanisch, Gotisch und Nordisch, zu dem dann in letzter Stunde auch noch die Deutsche Grammatik trat, trotz erstaunlicher Belesenheit nicht ganz gemeistert. Die Anordnung des Stoffes ist mangelhaft, über zu viel Einzelheiten fallen bedeutende Arbeiten oft fast ganz untern Tisch oder werden wie Meillets *Caractères généraux* mit leeren Gemeinplätzen abgetan (S. 50). Immer wieder drängen sich höchst persönliche Werturteile vor, für welche der junge Kritiker die Begründung meist schuldig bleibt. Und was sollen wir gar mit Behauptungen wie: "Das Germanische ist durch die Analyse anschaulicher; das Idg. andererseits war ungeheuer wuchtig und eindrucksvoll" (S. 94)?

Desto trefflicher handelt A. Bach über Deutsche Mundartforschung, für amerikanische Leser eine erwünschte Fortführung der ausgezeichneten Übersicht von C. E. Roedder, "Linguistic Geography," *GR* 1 (1926), 281 ff., ferner W. Will über Namenforschung und A. Götze über Deutsche Wortforschung, dies der

letzte und zuverlässigste Bericht über den Stand der verschiedenen deutschen Wörterbücher und ihre besonderen Ziele.

Die übrigen, vorzüglich unterrichtenden Beiträge können hier leider nur kurz aufgeführt werden: Englische Sprachforschung von W. Horn, Friesisch von F. Holthausen, Deutsche Beowulforschung von W. Fischer, Altdeutsche Literaturwissenschaft von G. Ehrismann, Die Mystik von A. Spamer, Humanismus und Reformation von A. E. Berger, dazu mehrere volkskundliche Berichte.

Am stärksten von eigener Gedankenarbeit durchsetzt und gereift sind die Beiträge von J. Trier über Deutsche Bedeutungsforschung, von F. Maurer über die Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und von F. Stroh über Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und Sprachphilosophie. Gerade in ihnen offenbart sich ein Zug, der mehr oder weniger bewusst an den verschiedensten Stellen des Werkes hervortritt: die Ausrichtung an grösseren Ganzheiten, die philosophische Besinnung, die gestaltmässige Erfassung im Geiste der Phänomenologie bricht heute wieder, wie in andere Wissenschaften, so auch in die Philologie und ihre Teilgebiete ein, um sie aus wissenschaftlicher und weltanschaulicher Vereinsamung zu erlösen.

Ein genaues Verzeichnis der Schriften Behaghels aus den Jahren 1924-1933 beschliesst den stattlichen Band, der auf Jahre hinaus zu den grundlegenden Werken germanistischer Forschung gehören wird.

OTTO SPRINGER

University of Kansas

Un nouveau principe d'étymologie romane. Par G.-G. NICHOLSON.

Paris: Droz, 1936. Pp. viii + 393.

M. Nicholson vient de publier la troisième série de ses recherches étymologiques (avant-propos p. v), touffues de faits diligemment collectionnés, savamment arrangés, et présentés dans un français impeccable,—mais qui ne peuvent persuader personne. Je crois qu'en somme tous les étymologistes auront approuvé Meyer-Lübke quand il nous apprend dans la 2^{ième} édition de son REW, préface p. xiii: "Nicholsons recherches étymologiques romanes entfernen sich so stark von dem, was für mich die Grundlage aller etymologischen Forschung bildet, dass ich sie gar nicht angeführt habe." M. N. reste imperturbable: "Je réaffirme ces étymologies. A la différence de celles qu'elles remplacent, elles se conforment aux lois de la phonétique, aux exigences du sens commun et aux faits connus ou vraisemblables de l'histoire de la civilisation, triple critère qui seul distingue le vrai du faux." Il faut, pour goûter cette naïveté (qui rappelle un peu la promesse de tel candidat politique à ses électeurs de "faire le bien"!), savoir que les explications que M. N. prétend remplacer par les siennes, émanent

d'étymologistes comme Schuchardt, Meyer-Lübke, Wartburg, Bloch. . . . Je m'étais opposé contre l'étymologie fr. *joli* = *diabolivus (d'un *diabolus* évoluant populairement en* *jol*-)—M. N. revient à la charge en alléguant (p. 18) que le galloroman peut avoir conservé des formes *populaires* de ce mot d'église, qui auraient disparu avant l'époque des documents écrits. Il considère donc un tel raisonnement, qui fait fi du réel et de l'attesté, compatible avec les lois de la phonétique, le bon sens et l'histoire de la civilisation—comment lui faire comprendre que son esprit a d'autres conceptions du bon sens que le reste des romanisants? Le nouveau principe d'étymologie romane qu'il prétend avoir découvert, est celui-ci (p. 2): "Lorsque dans un composé dont le peuple ne reconnaît plus les éléments composants, la syllabe initiale revêt la forme d'un représentant de l'un des préfixes *ab*, *ex*, *in*, *sub*, la conscience du langage l'identifie avec le préfixe dont elle est homonyme et, ce préfixe n'ayant aucune fonction à remplir dans le composé, en opère aussitôt l'aphérèse." P. ex.: fr. *bramer* (dit du cerf en rut), ital. *bramare* 'désirer ardemment' serait un *super-amar* (prov. *sobramar* 'aimer à l'excès'), dans lequel le peuple aurait cru reconnaître *sub*- > *so*- et dont il aurait déduit par aphérèse *-bram*-. Pour M. N. il paraît que le nexus *-per-* en italien donne, comme en provençal, *-br-* (pourtant *supra* > *sopra* et *operat* > *opera*). Il est tout à fait évident pour lui qu'un mot attesté seulement dans la langue si raffinée des troubadours reflète un lat. vulgaire **super-amar* et que la famille *-bram-* peut sortir, par méconnaissance, de cet étymon construit; il lui paraît évident aussi qu'un sens 'mugir dans l'état de rut' (dit d'animaux) peut se développer d'un sens si abstrait et si abstraitement exprimé comme 'aimer excessivement'; il ne sent pas l'abîme qui sépare le rut de la bête de l'amour 'supérieur' des troubadours, qui conduit tout droit, par la *gaia sciensa*, au surhomme goethéen et nietzschéen.¹ Et la tentative de voir dans le cri animal le sens primitif et de reconduire la famille de mots à un étymon désignant un cri, lui semble insensée. A M. N. il semble plus naturel et plus sensé d'expliquer le fr. argotique *brifer* 'manger gloutonnement' par **super-ürere* > **berürere* etc., que par l' "épouvantail étymologique," l'onomatopée figurée

¹ Si M. Nicholson était tant soit peu "philologue" et non pas ce linguiste "pur", insensible aux valeurs littéraires d'un texte, il aurait saisi le raffinement précieux d'un texte comme celui d'Arnaut Daniel (Rayn. II, 67) avec ses jeux de mots, ses allitérations et ses assonances tourmentées:

Sols sui que sai lo sobrafan que · m sortz
Al cor, d'amor sofren per sobramar.

Je prévois que M. N. dans sa quatrième série, qui ne tardera pas, va m'opposer le fr. dial. *ameur* 'amour sensuel des bêtes'—mais 1) est-ce que *sobr-amar* est la même chose que *amar*?, 2) il ne faut pas oublier que, comme toujours chez M. N., il y a cumul de difficultés: méconnaissance de *super-* (ce qu'il veut prouver) + un développement sémantique étonnant, qui détruit la valeur de la preuve + développement de *-per-* ital. en *-br-* etc.

par le schéma *brf chez Meyer-Lübke et Wartburg. Instinctivement poussé par la fièvre constructoïde, M. N. ne sent la moindre horreur devant les épouvantails qu'il façonne lui-même de toutes pièces: *bassus* 'bas' issu de *(a)bassare = *ab-assare = *ab-assessare, de *assessus*, *assidere*; *bretèche* de *supertestica; a. fr. *brehaigne* de *supervacu-anea; *trouver* de *interrogare*; *pisser* de *exspicare 'détacher les grains des épis' etc. C'est cette attitude présomptueuse du constructiviste ne reculant devant aucune *vezata quaestio* et devant aucun tortillement du lexique latin, dont feu Sainéan a écrit la satire anticipée. Comme on devait s'y attendre, on voit l'esprit massif de M. N. chamailler contre l'esprit le plus fin que nous ayons possédé en linguistique romane, Schuchardt, et se moquer d'une page classique de ce grand observateur, tout en n'en saisissant ni la portée philosophique ni même le sens élémentaire (p. 3-4). Et, pour lasser entièrement la patience du lecteur, ce médiocre étymologiste ira comparer, d'après le critérium de l'admission ou non-admission des explications par onomatopées et croisements de mots, l' "œuvre de philologues allemands, surtout de Schuchardt, dont la faconde impressionnante . . ." etc., à celle des "romanistes de race latine, amis des réalités"—je me demande pourquoi Sainéan, de race juive, donc, je suppose, réaliste, et, je pense aussi, nullement imbu de méthodes allemandes, a eu le tort d'invalidiser la théorie ethnique de M. N. en se faisant, durant toute sa vie, l'avocat des onomatopées et des croisements, "sources indigènes" et éternellement créatrices des langues. Ce qui m'étonne de mon côté chez M. Nicholson, c'est, chez un Britannique, ce manque absolu d'ironie vis-à-vis de ses propres "découvertes"—mais je dois reconnaître son talent indiscutable de trouver des éditeurs.

LEO SPITZER

The Johns Hopkins University

Richelieu et Corneille. La Légende de la persécution de l'auteur du Cid. Par LOUIS BATIFFOL. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1936. Pp. x + 199.

Le Manuscrit des Plaintes d'Acante de Tristan l'Hermite. Par EUGÉNIE DROZ. Paris, 25 rue de Tournon, 1937. Pp. 26.

Madame de Sévigné. By ARTHUR TILLEY. Cambridge: University Press [New York: Macmillan], 1936. Pp. xii + 160. \$2.25.

Louis XIV d'après les pamphlets répandus en Hollande. Par P. J. W. VAN MALSSSEN. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, n. d. Pp. 226.

M. Batiffol has expanded and popularized the evidence he published in the *Rddm* of April 1, 1923, to the effect that Richelieu

was not jealous of Corneille and that he did not desire the Academy to condemn the *Cid*. He shows abundantly that the Cardinal's attitude towards the dramatist was that of a protector rather than that of a rival, that his acceding to Scudéry's appeal to the Academy is no proof that he sought a hostile judgment, and that the legend of persecution was begun by Pellisson, who came to Paris too late to know the facts. With M. B.'s contention I am in general agreement, but I wish that he had taken into consideration such objections as those raised by M. Collas¹ in the *Revue de Paris* of Feb. 1, 1929. There can be no doubt that Chapelain thought Richelieu wanted an unfavorable judgment. One has only to read his letter of July 31, 1637, to be sure of the fact. M. B. is convinced that Chapelain was mistaken and I think it probable that he is right, but the letter should have been discussed and explained. At any rate those who differ with M. B. will do well to read his book.²

The MS. of Tristan's poem was unknown to Bernardin when he wrote the standard work on the author and to Madelin when he published the verses. It was purchased in 1936 by an amateur who allowed Mlle Droz to examine it and to reproduce the covers and a miniature of the Countess of Bergh. Her study of the MS. shows that the poem was written in order that the Duke of Bouillon might present it to this countess, whom he subsequently married. The variants collected by Mlle Droz prove that Tristan revised more extensively than M. Madelin believed. The pamphlet is beautifully printed and the illustrations do justice to the work of art that, according to the description of it, the MS. must be.

Mr. Tilley has added to his many works dealing with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this pleasant volume devoted to "some aspects" of his heroine's "life and character." He takes up especially her methods of ascertaining and communicating news, her friendships, her home, her love of nature, and her books. He is thoroughly in sympathy with the charming letter-writer, giving many examples of her vivacity and expression of feeling, quoting,

¹ M. Collas has recently repeated his arguments in a reply to M. Batiffol published in *RHL*, XLIII, 568-72. Space does not allow me to repeat here the objections I raised to M. C.'s interpretation of the documents in my *History of French Dramatic Literature*, Part II, pp. 135-8.

² The dates assigned by B. to Mairet's plays are those given them by the frères Parfaict and long ago shown to be erroneous. On p. 57 there is a curious slip: "Giovedì VIII" is translated "le samedi 8." Though the book appeared in 1936, B. is convinced, I am glad to note, that *le Cid* was first played in January, 1937. The 7th is, however, not so likely as the 9th, for plays were seldom given on Wednesdays and Friday was the usual day for new plays. He might have added that the only evidence for 1636 comes from the frères Parfaict, who would probably have given 1637 if they had seen Chapelain's letter of Jan. 22. It is thanks to them that 1636 got into the text-books and even upon the stamp issued in honor of the *Cid*'s tercentenary. Even M. Blum's government could be traditionalist!

too, Faguet's reference to her "smiling resignation to evil." Of this last quality her calling la Champmeslé "ma belle-fille" would have been a good example. He spares us the fact that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes met with her unqualified approval. His portrayal well represents, however, her leading characteristics and will serve as a good introduction to her extensive correspondence.³

In the last of these four books the author sketches Louis XIV's foreign policies and studies in detail the reaction of his enemies expressed in hundreds of pamphlets published in Holland. He adds biographical notes, so far as the authors can be identified, and a list of the pamphlets. The work is carefully and intelligently done. It reveals the tremendous hostility awakened by Louis's wars of conquest and by the Revocation. One notes that, as the years pass, the Dutch become more confident in their resources. The satire, while in the main justified, often exaggerates and becomes at times obscene. Among the French men of letters who contributed to the *corpus* were Furetière, Courtilz de Sandras, and Jurieu. The book makes an interesting contribution to the history of relations between France and the Netherlands in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth-Century English Poetry. By JOSEPH WARREN BEACH. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. Pp. xii + 618. \$5.00.

No brief review can do justice to the brilliance, breadth, and erudition of this survey of the history of the philosophical concept of Nature in nineteenth-century poetry. Professor Beach traces the rise of this idea from Shaftesbury through Wordsworth, Shelley, and Coleridge, discusses its height in Emerson and Whitman, and its fall from Arnold to Hardy. The romantic nature cult is viewed as a substitute faith for Christianity which formed a bridge from orthodox religious views to the agnosticism or unbelief characteristic of the present time. The cult, which tended on the whole to conceive of God as a divine "principle" immanent in the universe and in process of realization there, synthesized two elements (1) the scientific notion of regular and universal laws, (2) the religious view of divine providence. It was Shaftesbury who first achieved the "aesthetic synthesis," that is, combined love of rural nature with the scientific concept of universal nature; it was he who first

³ The French quotations deserved more careful proof-reading. The worst slips I have noted are: p. 27, *le* for *la lui*; p. 43, *obliges* for *obliger*; p. 45, *qui* for *que*; p. 92, *si* for *ri*; p. 106, *procède* for *procédé*.

gave striking imaginative expression to how one may rise from a contemplation of natural scenery, through the concept of Universal Nature, to a knowledge of the Supreme Being as the soul diffused through the whole.

An illuminating chapter on the philosophical background of the nineteenth-century nature poets precedes a discussion of the religious views—of necessarianism, benevolence, design, universal love—and the failure of naturalism in Wordsworth and Shelley. Nearly half of the book is devoted to these problems. Transcendentalism in Carlyle, Coleridge, Emerson, culminating in Whitman, the second phase of the nature cult, was important in the history of liberalism because under its cover naturalism was enabled to make great advances. In the third phase of the movement Darwinian evolution played the leading role: Arnold and Tennyson doubted the beneficence of nature, which Wordsworth, Shelley, and the Transcendentalists unquestioningly assumed; Browning, by rejecting such ideas as the derivation of higher forms of life from lower ones by a process of natural selection, retained the optimism of the early century; Swinburne rejected the supernatural interpretation of man and man's spirit; Meredith's position was much like Swinburne's, he accepted the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, feeling that hard conditions of life have given man the means of developing his faculties; Hardy sounded the death knell of English nature poetry, the evidence of evolution being for him proof of the blundering ineptitude of Nature or God in that it has occasioned untold suffering to both man and the lower animals. In contemporary poetry the philosophical concept of Nature, as if the literary mind is loath to grapple with cosmic problems, has virtually disappeared.

No doubt specialists in the different poets considered in this work will find errors and omissions, but such faults will assume relative unimportance when the scope of the work is considered. It is indeed uncommon to find a book devoted to so fresh an idea and so large a problem hitherto almost ignored. On the whole the differences between the nature poets are sharpened up in a way that has never been done before. One often wishes that Mr. Beach had developed certain ideas somewhat further, or had made a little clearer the complexities and inconsistencies in the work of any one poet, until one remembers that in writing so comprehensive a book it is often necessary to oversimplify for the sake of clarity and brevity—the main argument must be kept as clear and unencumbered as possible.

It is also inevitable that the chapters should be somewhat uneven; those on Emerson, Whitman, Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, Meredith, and Hardy are excellent, the one on Shelley based on too superficial study (as Mr. Beach himself does not fail to note), the one on Carlyle too dependent on secondary material. Most interesting of all are the chapters on "The Metaphysical Concept

of Nature" and those on Wordsworth. Professor Beach is indeed gifted in his explanation of technical philosophy and in presenting the issues significant in the study of literature. While he does not trace fully the development of Platonism from antiquity to the romantics—that also would be without the scope of his book—he carries through certain ideas such as "plastic nature," shows how they developed in the seventeenth-century Platonists, More, Cudworth, and others, and were repeated with variations in Newton, Locke, Berkeley. His explanation of the three-fold nature of the conception of the *anima mundi* will do much to clear up confusions on that subject. The chapters on Wordsworth, in addition to their place in the survey, form one of the most significant contributions to the study of Wordsworth's thought yet published. Questions of Wordsworth's development, of the failure of his naturalism, of the relation between his animism and pantheism, of the meaning of such difficult passages as "To every Form of being is assigned . . . An active Principle," "Blest the infant Babe . . . Nursed in his Mother's arms" are most convincingly treated. Moreover, the main approach to Wordsworth's thought, the method of presenting metaphysical problems as they appeared to Wordsworth is admirable. There is always a nice balance between the philosophical idea and the poetic expression of it, always a careful distinction between mere logical consistency in the poetry and an earnest searching for the character of idea congenial to Wordsworth's temperament.

Mr. Beach collects, in many instances for the first time in any place, the significant bibliographical references which any student interested in kindred subjects must consult. The book abounds in well-chosen significant quotations, many from books not readily available.

ADELE B. BALLMAN

Baltimore

Plays about The Theatre in England from The Rehearsal in 1671 to the Licensing Act in 1737: Or, The Self-Conscious Stage and its Burlesque and Satirical Reflections in the Age of Criticism.

By DANE FARNSWORTH SMITH. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xxiv + 292. \$4.00.

Illusion is the thing if great imaginative drama is to succeed in the theater. This is one lesson at least that the reader learns from Mr. Dane F. Smith's *Plays about the Theatre*. By making a study of about seventy plays and scenes, Mr. Smith has produced a picture not easily improved upon of the forces which make for the decay of great drama. His method has been to quote at length from the plays themselves, so that on reading the book one has almost the feeling of having read several dozen plays, burlesques,

and farces, and of having gained a thorough first-hand acquaintance with the Restoration and early eighteenth-century theater. Indeed, although Mr. Smith has introduced with explanations and comments each play and each passage which he quotes, he has depended on the words of the playwrights themselves to present the evidence and to convince the reader of the tendencies of the period under consideration. He shows clearly how the public was disillusioned concerning the whole theatrical business by critics who, not realizing that illusion is all, carped over every slight deviation from arbitrarily imposed dramatic forms and who also demanded turns of wit in every line rather than the expression of human feelings. The extreme case comes in Thomas D'Urfey's *The Fool Turn'd Critic* (1676) when Tim, the young heir to Old Winelove, tells of having hissed off the stage the product of ten months' work for reasons which he cannot remember.

The critics of "The Age of Reason" did not submit themselves to the magic of the stage. Nor is an explanation hard to find why they were not caught in the spell cast by the sight of great kings or inspired fools, of powerful villains or abused beauties. As one learns from these plays about the theater, the audience knew—as no audience ever has a right to know—that in very truth the kings were merely their coffee-house companions, the fools their old cronies, the villains not really wicked but men much like themselves, and the beauties, indeed, ladies of their too intimate acquaintance. Samuel Pepys, in a passage which Mr. Smith might have cited for evidence outside the plays, attests the familiarity of the spectators with the players:

. . . to the women's shift, where Nell was dressing herself, and was all unready, and is very pretty, prettier than I thought. And so walked all up and down the house above, and then below into the scene-room, and there sat down, and she gave us fruit; and here I read the questions to Knepp, while she answered me, through all her part of 'Flora's Figary's' which was acted to-day. But, Lord! to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and make me loath them; and what base company of men comes among them, and how lewdly they talk! and how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a shew they make on the stage by candle-light, is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit, was pretty. . . . By and by into the pit, and there saw the play, which is pretty good, but my belly was full of what I had seen in the house. . . . (October 5, 1667.)

No doubt many another man had his "belly full" after too easy association with both men and women behind the scenes. When we cannot be enchanted, we can only be made to laugh. Hence, in this age, comedy flourished, but even it lost its high character in the burlesques and farces of disillusionment.

For nearly three-quarters of a century the authors of plays about the theater revealed and ridiculed the art which they professed. Under such an attack on dramatic illusion, the tradition of imaginative drama which they had inherited from Shakespeare and his

associates withered and died. In its place a new tradition grew up, but the sweep of Elizabethan poetry was never again to be recaptured.

RUDOLF KIRK

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John Ford. By M. JOAN SARGEAUNT. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935. Pp. 232.

This new monograph will quickly become the chief authority on John Ford. Since this is so, the faults it possesses must be clearly pointed out. Miss Sargeant has been unwise to accept (p. 21) Fleay's old heresy of an early date (1625-28) for the composition of *'Tis Pity* (published 1633). Reducing Fleay's argument to its strongest item, he claims that a passage of Ford's dedication to the Earl of Peterborough means to say the play is his earliest:

Your Noble allowance of *These First Fruites* of my leasure in the Action, emboldens my confidence, of your as noble construction in this Presentment: especially since my Service must euer owe particular duty to your Fauours, by a particular Ingagement.

Miss Sargeant admits the difficulties that arise: is *'Tis Pity* then earlier than a group of plays that Ford wrote in collaboration (1621-24) and his early non-dramatic writings (e. g., *Fame's Memorial*, 1606)? She leaves these "out of account"! Is *'Tis Pity* earlier than the non-extant *An ill begining has a good end . . .*, (probably) acted at court in 1613? She tries to disqualify the latter by supposing that it may also have been written in collaboration (p. 21). Chronologies cannot be proved by guesswork.

What then does the famous phrase "*These First Fruites* of my leasure" mean? Clearly "leasure" is the crux of the matter: *'Tis Pity* is the first fruit of a period of leisure following some employment, perhaps the "particular Ingagement" in which His Lordship used Ford's services. The dedication, in short, has no chronological significance, unless one can date the period of leisure. In the absence of any strong evidence, one is obliged to be content with the date 1633, determined only by the date of publication.

Related to this matter is Miss Sargeant's preoccupation (pp. 24, 147, 217 n. 2) with Courthope's contention that *'Tis Pity* must be associated with *Love's Sacrifice* in point of composition, and *The Lover's Melancholy* with *The Broken Heart*; the first pair being labelled "domestic melodrama," the latter "the abstract manner." Granted that there are some similarities (e. g., of atmosphere, setting, use of feminine endings) which support this notion, the distinctions disappear under careful scrutiny: there is plenty of melodrama in *The Broken Heart* and plenty of abstraction in *'Tis Pity*. Courthope is one of the weakest reeds, when it comes to the

interpretation of Ford. S. P. Sherman, whom Miss Sargeaunt has read too superficially (pp. 111-12, 140-41), and Havelock Ellis, for whose brilliant and compact analyses she has the proper respect (pp. 55-6), are better guides.

It has become customary to accuse Ford of incompetence in structure and inconsistency in character drawing. A critic will, like Miss Sargeaunt, testify to "the remarkable individuality of his genius," to "his unique artistry" (p. 105), only to condemn him for not doing the ordinary thing. The "silly and rather indecent" basic idea of *The Fancies* (p. 76), the "unsatisfactory" character of Bassanes in *The Broken Heart* (p. 81), for example, would prove to be examples of his consistency and individuality if viewed in the light of his use of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

To certain books on Ford Miss Sargeaunt has shown herself curiously indifferent. Any examination of Ford's relation to Shakespeare (Chapter V) should mention Max Wolff's *John Ford ein Nachahmer Shakespeares*, and any metrical tabulations (Chapter VII) should recognize Eduard Hannemann's *Metrische Untersuchungen zu John Ford*. She makes no claim that her work is complete, yet such an essay as Miss Cochnower's on Ford's ideas (in *Seventeenth Century Studies*) should be named, as should Bradley and Adams's *Jonson Allusion Book*, which contains a new biographical scrap on Ford.

Minor but annoying faults in the book are: the failure exactly to locate dozens of quotations from the plays which many a reader, less familiar with Ford than she, might be at a loss to find; careless errors in spelling—e. g., "Mauriccio" (p. 22) or "Mauricio" (p. 59), instead of the "Maurucio" required by the quarto of *Love's Sacrifice*.

There are as many phases of her work which deserve commendation. For the first time we are presented with a life of Ford which stands on exhaustive investigation of records in his home county of Devon and in the Middle Temple, where he probably spent a large part of his life. The author's additions to the Ford canon, notably the two pamphlets *Christes Bloodie Sweat* and *The Golden Meane*, are interesting and important. Chapters I and II, treating these matters, supersede all earlier works. In the critical chapters—on Ford as a collaborator, as an independent dramatist, on his settings and his use of verse—many of her comments illuminate and carry conviction, as her defence of Penthea in *The Broken Heart* (pp. 82-4) and her elucidation of the character of Auria, the suspicious husband of the little-read play *The Lady's Trial* (pp. 87-91). These chapters are valuable also for their collecting and counterpoising the extremely variant opinions on Ford. The final chapter, presenting a condensed survey of critical opinion from Edward Phillips to Mr. T. S. Eliot, affords a perspective which helps make this divergence of opinion understandable. The careful bibliography with full collations is a useful assemblage, including all titles

claimed for Ford by scholarship since Sherman's edition of *'Tis Pity* and *The Broken Heart* (1915).

Admirers of Ford will be glad to have it remarked again that Milton in *Paradise Regained* (l. 498) seems to be indebted to Ford for one of his most telling phrases,

and Satan bowing low
His gray dissimulation, disappear'd
Into thin Air diffus'd.

S. BLAINE EWING

University of Kentucky

BRIEF MENTION

Early Victorian Drama (1830-1870). By ERNEST REYNOLDS. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1936. Pp. viii + 164. 6s. It is difficult to determine exactly what purpose *Early Victorian Drama* may serve. Though incomplete, its appended list of dramatized fiction is scholarly; but its bibliography is unimportant and its appended biographies of six actors are elementary. On nearly every page are questionable generalizations about the drama, the period, or both. Though recognizing that the Victorian "spirit" affects more than England, Dr. Reynolds seems to sympathize little with even the major Victorian, be he Wagner, Tennyson, or George Eliot; and he dismisses Browning, for example, with casualness and sophistry. Most of the materials of the book are fairly available elsewhere. They are organized to account for an alleged decline of the drama. The reasons usually given for this apparent decline are repeated, though woven in a kind of web to snare the dramatist: imitation, notably of Shakespeare and the Greeks; romantic egotism or "escape"; social or spiritual dis-ease; an uncongenial theatre. The most emphasized and perhaps wrongest reason suggested is a kind of encyclopaedic expansiveness, not of form but affecting it, called want of restraint. Quintessential in the major works of all the major Victorians (take them or leave them), this quality seems to me an honorable, often fine, form-changing reach for a no-longer provincial universe. It becomes dramatic in Ibsen, O'Neill, Shaw, and Galsworthy, and was therefore not *per se* inimical to drama.

As a matter of fact, drama did not decline, and the reasons for the failures of individuals to write great plays were personal. In looking for what was not in the Victorian theatre, Dr. Reynolds may have missed seeing what was on its bills. For example, like Nicoll and like Sawyer in *The Comedy of Manners*, he looks vainly for a comedy of manners. But though he is convinced that drama

has flourished only "when literature was practised as an art, and not used as the medium for ethical or sociological propaganda" (p. 7) and though he consistently laments imitativeness, he defines the genre as of the Restoration theatre. Though we dislike comedies of sentiments, in the era of "friendship cards" and "nice Nellies," of "little Women" and "blots on 'scutcheons," the domestic comedies of Knowles, Bulwer, and Robertson were doubtless as authentic comedies of manners as those of Etherege, probably less derivative, more reflective of *general* manners than the caviar-to-the-general Restoration pieces. Of course they were probably Victorian. But as such they may be worth regard.

ARTHUR E. DUBOIS

Duquesne University

The School of Night: A Study of the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh. By M. C. BRADBROOK. Cambridge (England): At the University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1936. Pp. viii + 190. \$2.25. The reader who expects to find in Miss Bradbrook's slender volume new evidence for the existence of The School of Night will be disappointed. The first two chapters are, for the most part, a composite for the conjectures of Arthur Acheson (*Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*), Professors Quiller-Couch and Wilson (*Love's Labour's Lost*, 1923), and Mr. G. B. Harrison (*Willobie His Avis*). But here these conjectures become historical facts. The author states definitely that "The School of Night" was Shakespeare's nickname for a society which was founded by Raleigh (p. 7).

The third chapter discusses "the doctrine" of the school. "Scepticism," we are told, "left the school with no alternative to a Transcendental God. . . . The necessity for a Transcendental God was due to the sudden enlargement of the universe, as the telescope of Harriot revealed it. . . . The School of Night therefore sought 'a Philosophic Theology' . . ." They began with the stoicism of Plutarch and Seneca, they were influenced by Heraclitus of Ephesus, they dabbled in the occult, they were interested in astronomy, and they borrowed as much of the doctrine of Machiavelli as they needed—but what "doctrine" was evolved from all this the chapter does not make clear.

Miss Bradbrook devotes her next three chapters to a discussion of some of the works of Raleigh, Marlowe, and Chapman. These writings reflect, in her opinion, the theories and activities of The School of Night. Miss Bradbrook's analyses are always stimulating, and her conclusions are often startling. Her main thesis seems to be that the interest of Raleigh, Marlowe, and Chapman in the new philosophy and science caused the language of their poetry to become "complicated with mythology and symbol, and yet flexible with puns and word-play and new verse forms"; and that this laid

the foundations for the metaphysical poets of the new century. This thesis has already found acceptance in many quarters, but much of the evidence by which Miss Bradbrook now attempts to substantiate it must be rejected as mere conjecture.

The last chapter, which is meant to complement Miss Frances M. Yate's *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost*, deals with the war between Shakespeare and The School of Night. Those readers who enjoy tripping lightly along "the primrose path of conjecture" will find this volume delightful. Those who still believe that literary history is a discipline will find it extremely provocative.

WALTER G. FRIEDRICH

Valparaiso University

Phineas Fletcher: Man of Letters, Science, and Divinity. By ABRAM BARNETT LANGDALE. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No. 125.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. viii + 230. \$3.00. This study of Phineas Fletcher presents an interesting, aggressive personality who never attained his goals in the worldly sense but who produced fine testimonies to his vigor as poet, country person, and scientific enthusiast. Students of seventeenth-century poetry will find here valuable chapters on the influences which formed this little-read poet. Those who are devoted to the English clergy may prick up their ears at the suggestion that *The Way to Blessedness* might well be reprinted and set on the shelves beside Herbert's *Country Parson*. The most absorbed readers, however, will probably be the ones who take for their province the history of the introduction of scientific thought into literature.

Mr. Langdale makes it clear that Fletcher was not only meticulously accurate in his anatomical descriptions of *The Purple Island* but that his knowledge of the human body even went beyond the printed books of 1610, the year in which he wrote his great poem. Indeed, he twice speaks of the circulation of the blood, although Harvey's *Exercitatio* was not to be published until 1628. Mr. Langdale suggests that the poet studied anatomy at Caius and Gonville College, where Harvey may have returned as a lecturer while Fletcher was a student at King's. By some means, at any rate, he learned anatomy at first hand and wrote of the real thing in *The Purple Island*. This circumstance Mr. Langdale considers the most original aspect of the thought of Phineas Fletcher.

Though Mr. Langdale's work is marred by trite expressions and uneven writing (e. g., the opening sentence of the paragraph on page 47 has little to do with what follows in the next two paragraphs), he has made a useful contribution to our understanding of Fletcher, who emerges from the pages of this book as a versatile poet, a scientist eager to accept new discoveries, and a parson who

took his vocation so seriously that he would bother to write a treatise on his parochial duties.

RUDOLF KIRK

Rutgers University

James Thomson's Influence on Swedish Literature in the Eighteenth Century. By WALTER GILBERT JOHNSON. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1936. Pp. 202. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XIX, Nos. 3 and 4.) \$2.50. Though other scholars had mentioned, either incidentally or with specific examples, Thomson's influence on different Swedish authors in the eighteenth century, Professor Johnson gives a more detailed, consistent, and unified treatment of the whole field, and in so doing performs his greatest service to comparative literature. The works of Dalin, Fru Nordenflycht, Creutz, Gyllenborg, Gothenius (primarily a translator and paraphraser), Bergström (translated Thomson's *Agamemnon*), Clewberg-Edelcrantz, Denell (of minor significance only), Oxenstierna, and Franzén are studied. After summarizing Thomson's *Seasons*, *Britannia*, and *Liberty* (pp. 9-33), with running comment, Professor Johnson tackles his specific problem, which is to show how Thomson influenced both nature poetry and "the writing of patriotic poetry" in Sweden. The latter in point of time takes precedence, and Dalin's *Svenska friheten* (1742) is an early example. The Swedish authors apparently made no use of *The Castle of Indolence* or of Thomson's dramas except to translate the *Agamemnon* noted above. The method used in this study is that of parallelism to show the similarity in style or theme, sometimes both. Though the *Seasons* was the most influential poem, Professor Johnson shows that *Liberty* and *Britannia* evidently influenced the patriotic poetry of Dalin, Nordenflycht, Gyllenborg, Oxenstierna, and Clewberg. In this connection he is more convincing when he discusses the influence of *Liberty* on Dalin's *Svenska friheten* (1742) and Clewberg's *Sorge-tal* (1783), and the possible influence of *Britannia* on Nordenflycht's *Det frälsta Svea* (1746) than in the other examples cited.

This study contains a bibliography, an appendix of biographical notes, and an index.

HERBERT DRENNON

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Murray, Kentucky

The Oxford Book of Modern Verse, 1892-1935. Chosen by W. B. YEATS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xlv + 454. \$3.00. This is an amazingly bad compilation to appear under the editorship of W. B. Yeats. The forty-five page Introduc-

tion is superficial and confused. No critic, however clear-minded, could in so small a space, give a good account of these last forty years of poetry,—and Mr. Yeats, as critic, has always been impressionistic. Furthermore, he seems self-conscious and inhibited, as if the poets he is dealing with were looking over his shoulder and admonishing him. Thus, Edith Sitwell receives a startling amount of attention for so slight and so distorted a talent. Nor are these disproportions of emphasis confined to the preface. The selections from the poets are capricious to the point of eccentricity. I can not feel that either the introduction or the selections were the result of Mr. Yeats's best powers. Even his prose becomes, in spots, quite slovenly. I can not identify with the author of "Ideas of Good and Evil" and the "Trembling of the Veil" a sentence like this: "But every light has its shadow, we tumble out of one pickle into another, the 'pure-gem-like flame' was an insufficient motive; the sons of men who had admired Garibaldi or applauded the speeches of John Bright, picked Ophelias out of the gutter, who knew exactly what they wanted and had no intention of committing suicide." The sentence refers to the aesthetic poets of the 90's by whom Yeats is still, perhaps unconsciously, unduly impressed,—to judge by the amount of space he devotes to them. Two further examples of erratic judgment may be pointed out. Reference is made to Robert Bridges's influence on Laurence Binyon, as if the influence were limited to that one poet, and as if, had it been so limited, it would have been worth mentioning at all. Arthur Waley and Tagore are lumped together; and in the text Tagore is represented by seven pieces, and Waley with but one. These instances must suffice to illustrate the hopeless confusion of the ideas expressed in the introduction, and the extraordinary ineptitude of the compilation itself.

ROBERT HILLYER

Harvard University

A Bibliography of British History (1700-1715). With Special Reference to the Reign of Queen Anne. By WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1934. Volume I (1700-1707). Pp. xviii + 524. (Nos. 94 and 95, Indiana University Studies.) Professor Morgan is well known to historians for his work on *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne* (1920). His present volume is the first installment of a bibliography of the books and pamphlets printed in the period from 1700 to 1715. His primary interest is in political, economic, and social history, and his bibliography is intended to be of service mainly in those fields. But within its limitations it will be indispensable for investigators in this period.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

University of Michigan

Der Dichter Tannhäuser. Leben—Gedichte—Sage. Von JOHANNES SIEBERT. Halle: Max Niemeyers Verlag, 1934. The editor of this edition of the poems of the M. H. G. poet Tannhäuser shows marked devotion to all phases of his task. The first part treats of the 'Dichter,' the second of the 'Gedichte,' with the subtitles 'Metrische Einführung, Text, Anmerkungen, und Erläuterungen,' the third of 'die Sage.' The text editing seems to have been done with care and the 'Anmerkungen' are particularly copious and of special importance for poetry of the type of the 'Tannhäuser.' As to the *Hofzucht*, a conventional product, it seems to this reviewer that it is not by Tannhäuser, to judge by sound-conditions, while the 'Busslieder' of the Jenaer and Kolmarer Handschrift are distinctly of the same type as the poems of C (Manessische Liederhandschrift, Heidelberg), the authority for the generally accepted work of the poet. An exception should be made in case of 3, stanza 2. Of the rest of the poetry only pp. 227-231 could be considered as Tannhäuser's. If these statements be correct they would be of significance for the biography of the poet. An excellent account of the works is found in Ehrismann's *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 1935, pp. 265-267. It appears this poet, though of secondary importance, well deserved a new edition. As to the music attributed to Tannhäuser a composer of national reputation, to whom it was submitted, informed the reviewer that it would be effective when sung by a modern mass chorus.

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

New York University

George and Sarah Green, A Narrative. By DOROTHY WORDSWORTH. Edited by ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1936. Pp. 91. \$2.00. This is a Lyrical Ballad in prose, an admirably simple and direct account of the death of a very poor dalesman and his wife, of their funeral, and of placing five of the youngest children with various neighbors in the valley. Professor de Selincourt adds many details, giving the later history of the children and telling how the £500 raised for them (much of it by the Wordsworths) was spent. The Greens' attachment to their "morsel of Land" which had been in the family for generations (pp. 48, 75) recalls "Michael."

R. D. H.

Errata: P. 20, l. 12 should be followed immediately by ll. 2 and 3 of note 6; p. 187, note 1, l. 3, read *ī* ure; p. 523, l. 40, read *Mönchischen*.

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